

Missouri Historical Review



—From a painting by Thomas Hart Benton

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Missouri Historical Review

Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor

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FOUR OUTSTANDING COLLECTIONS OPEN FOR INSPECTION

In addition to the largest depository of Missouri records in the world and its well-known library and reference facilities on Missouriana, the State Historical Society of Missouri has four outstanding collections open for inspection in the Society's rooms in the University of Missouri Library building in Columbia. All members of the Society and their friends and the general public are invited to see these collections when they are in Columbia:

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The George Caleb Bingham Art Collection is headed by "Order No. 11" or "Martial Law," Missouri's most famous historical painting. This canvas is a vivid portrayal of the cruelties of General Thomas Ewing's order depopulating a section of western Missouri during the Civil War to rid the area of bushwhackers. Other Bingham paintings in the collection include portraits of James Shannon, John Woods Harris, and Vinnie Ream Hoxie, and two genre paintings called "Watching The Cargo" or "Lighter Relieving A Steamboat Aground" and "Scene on the Ohio." The Bingham Art Collection hangs in the Society's reading room.

THE DANIEL R. FITZPATRICK COLLECTION

The Daniel R. Fitzpatrick Collection of cartoon drawings for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* includes 1,332 original sketches by the internationally famous editorial cartoonist. The cartoons cover the period from 1917 to 1945. They are mainly in the field of Missouriana with a number relating to national and international affairs. Mr. Fitzpatrick's work, which has been displayed in one-man shows in domestic and foreign museums, has been awarded numerous prizes including the Pulitzer prize of 1926. The collection was given to the Society by Mr. Fitzpatrick.

THE J. CHRISTIAN BAY COLLECTION

The J. Christian Bay Collection, one of the rare selected libraries of Middle Western Americana in the United States, consists of more than 3,800 items of information fundamental in the history and literature in America's great "Middle Border." The collection is a unit of historical information on this part of the United States. Named in honor of its creator, J. Christian Bay, librarian emeritus of the John Crerar Library of Chicago and an outstanding scholar and bibliographer, the Bay Collection is housed in a special rare book room.

THE THOMAS HART BENTON GALLERY

The Thomas Hart Benton Gallery of historic art includes *The Year of Peril* series of paintings: eight historical canvases of 1942, painted by the Missouri artist, Thomas Hart Benton. Another closely associated Benton painting, entitled "The Negro Soldier" and painted at the same time as *The Year of Peril* series, is also on display in the Benton Gallery. The paintings were first used by the government of the United States in propaganda work in the form of reproductions distributed overseas. *The Year of Peril* paintings were presented to the Society by the Abbott Laboratories and Mr. Benton presented "The Negro Soldier" canvas to the Society.

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"THIS WEEK IN MISSOURI HISTORY"

BY FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER*

With this issue, readers are introduced to a new section in the *Review*—the Society's illustrated "This Week In Missouri History" sketches. Enjoyed by Missouri newspaper readers for twenty-six years, these articles now have eye-catching pictures added.

The 1951 illustrated series is of such unusual interest that we are printing the articles in the *Review* for members who may miss them in their local papers. Each issue will contain the six articles released during the previous quarter.

"This Week In Missouri History" is the oldest and most widely circulated service of its kind in the United States. It was in February, 1925, that I wrote the first four articles and mailed copies to twenty Missouri editors. Publication of this popular free service to Missouri newspapers soon reached statewide proportions.

In later years, research associates of the Society have compiled the articles under my editorship. "This Week" sketches combine facts found through research with human sidelights, making them both informative and enjoyable for the general reader.

The articles have appeared in two series. The first, begun in 1925 and completed in October, 1941, factually presented the political, military, and biographical aspects of Missouri history. Since that time the manner of presentation has been popularized and the subject matter has dealt more with our state's social history.

In order to give permanent form to the valuable historical research which went into writing the first series of 871 "This Week" articles, the Society in 1942-3 published the two-volume work titled *Missouri, Day by Day*. Here the carefully revised articles comprise an unequalled handbook of the chronicle of Missouri history.

*FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER since 1915 has been secretary and librarian of the Society as well as editor of the *Missouri Historical Review*.

The idea of illustrating the articles had been growing in the back of my mind for several years. When Miss Jean Brand joined the Society as research associate in 1950, she was assigned the job of carrying out the illustration project. After writing many of the articles, she was familiar with the subjects and likely picture sources.

The picture search led through all the resources of the Society's library, the Bay collection of Middle Western Americana, and the library of the University of Missouri. Miss Brand turned up illustrations in old and new books, pamphlets, magazines, and newspapers. Some articles required original drawings.

"A picture is worth a thousand words"—providing it especially illustrates the subject. Finding the appropriate picture was not always easy. For instance, the rare plank road engraving, the first I had ever seen, was found in a report of the Geological Survey of Missouri published in 1855. It was made by R. B. Price, "the indefatigable Draughtsman of the Survey," later a Columbia banker.

A portrayal of a postmaster carrying the mail in his hat defied all research, until Miss Brand took up pen and India ink and made the drawing herself. Henry Howe's 1851 *Historical Collections of the Great West* contained the Mike Fink picture. The sketch of a lecturer of a century ago was taken from a book on Thackeray's American tour, and the Civil War engineers were limned for an 1889 history of the Missouri Engineer Regiment. The clever drawing of the muster day parade was one of a group discovered in an old *Harper's Monthly*, all of them so good it was difficult to choose the best.

We asked Missouri newspaper editors what they thought of the illustration project, and they came out overwhelmingly in favor of it, in spite of the scarcity of newsprint and the pressure of needed advertising space. The result is that today the illustrated "This Week" articles are appearing in 225 newspapers in 110 of the 114 Missouri counties. One metropolitan out-of-state paper with considerable Missouri circulation has asked for them. I believe *Review* readers will share the enthusiasm which has been expressed by the newspaper audience.

This group of articles was compiled as follows: "Mike Fink" and "Plank Roads" by Miss Brand; "Postmasters," "Lecturers" and "Missouri Engineer Regiment" by Dan H. Spies, formerly assistant to the secretary; and "Muster Day" by Ruby Matson Robins, research associate. A brief list of references follows each article for those who may want to read further.



**MIKE FINK, KING OF THE KEELBOATMEN,
A FOLKLORE HERO**

Released January 1-15, 1951

"Out of my way!
I'm Mike Fink and I'm
coming ashore. I'm half
horse and half alligator. I
can out-swim, out-swar,
out-jump, out-drink and
keep soberer than any
man in Missouri — I'm
spiling for someone to
whip me, and if there's
a creeter in this diggin'
that wants to be disap-
pointed trying to do it,
let him yell!"



**Mike Fink Shooting Cup Of
Whiskey Off A Friend's Head**

The "King of the Keelboatmen" had hit the St. Louis riverfront. Mike Fink, hero of extravagant tales up and down the entire Mississippi Valley, dare-devil, bully, expert marksman, was destined to become one of the demi-gods of American folklore, along with Paul Bunyan and John Henry.

The rollicking boatman was born on the Pennsylvania border about 1770, had been hunter and Indian scout, and finally became known as the most courageous and reckless keelboat pilot and fighter on the network of rivers.

It took nerve and skill to guide the unwieldy keelboats past treacherous snags and sandbars in the turbulent Mississippi. The job attracted a rowdy crew of hard-muscled, hard-living ex-soldiers and frontiersmen. When death lurked around each bend in the river, men indulged in orgies of drinking, fighting, and carousing in the colorful towns where they docked.

Giant Mike Fink, darkly tanned, with open red flannel shirt showing the bristling black hair on his chest, roared and blustered and bit and gouged his way until he was undisputed fighting champion of the rivermen.

Mike got into trouble in St. Louis for an unwise demonstration of his marksmanship. His companions one day insisted that the slightest tremble was coming into his trigger finger, hinting that he was not the marksman he had been. Mike, enraged, sprang up with his rifle, pointed to a Negro boy lounging on the levee a hundred yards away. Saying that he would "shoot off his heel so he could wear a genteel boot," Mike fired. The boy yelled with pain. Mike had proved the steadiness of his aim, but officers of the law soon collared him and hauled him into the magistrate's office. The story goes that he was freed, but that the citizens strongly disapproved of his barbarity.

As steamboats replaced keelboats, Mike Fink and his cronies looked for other jobs suited to their peculiar talents. In 1822 Mike joined Gen. W. H. Ashley's fur trapping expedition in St. Louis to go up the Missouri River to the Yellowstone. At Fort Henry in the spring of 1823 Mike and his friends were engaged in their favorite sport of shooting tin cups of whiskey off each other's heads at forty yards. Aim-

ing too low either by accident or design, Mike shot a companion in the forehead and killed him. Another man in the expedition protested, drew a pistol, and shot Mike dead on the spot. Of the many versions of Mike Fink's death, one of the most romantic is Missouri poet John G. Neihardt's "The Song of Three Friends."

Mike lived on in song and story. Even today in the dim bayous of the lower Mississippi, unruly children are frightened into good behavior with the magic name of Mike Fink.

[References: Blair, Walter, and Franklin J. Meine, *Mike Fink, King of Mississippi Keelboatmen* (New York, 1933); Botkin, Benjamin A., *A Treasury of American Folklore* (New York, 1944), pp. 30-50; *Missouri Intelligencer*, Sept. 4, 1829; *Missouri Republican*, July 16, 1823; Neihardt, John G., *A Cycle of the West* (New York, 1949), pp. 1-126; Spotts, C. B., "Mike Fink in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, 28 (October, 1933), pp. 3-8.]

EARLY MISSOURI POSTMASTERS CARRIED MAIL IN THEIR HATS

Released January 16-31, 1951

Major Obidiah Dickerson took off his huge bell-crown hat and lifted the lining inside the crown to look over the contents of the Palmyra postoffice.

"Here's a half dozen letters for you and the folks up your way," he said to a Marion County settler in 1822. Spotting two more well-worn envelopes, the postmaster added: "Take these along and see if they belong to anyone in your settlement. They have been here two weeks and no one has called for them yet. I don't know any such men and I don't want to be bothered with them any longer."



The Postmaster's Hat Was
The Postoffice In 1822

Postoffice business was simple and personal in pioneer Missouri. According to tradition and local legend, when the volume of mail in the Palmyra postoffice increased, Major Dickerson simply petitioned his superiors for a new and larger hat!

Most of the early Missouri postoffices were set up in private homes or taverns. A few were in stores. Being frequently absent from home, in the woods hunting, or attending some public gathering of the settlers, pioneer postmasters found they often met more men while they traveled about than came to their office when they stayed at home. Hence they carried the few letters which constituted "the mail" in their hats, a place often used as a receptacle for papers, documents, handkerchiefs and other belongings of the gentlemen of the day.

Obidiah Dickerson had many counterparts in other early Missouri communities. Esom Hannon, first postmaster in Sullivan County in the old town of Pharsalia, visited some one of the various justice courts in the county on Saturdays in 1846 and carried the mail for that portion of the county in his hat. As late as 1865, A. Morris, Kirksville postmaster, carried the letters in his cap and distributed them to the neighbors to whom they were addressed.

By 1842, however, the Postoffice Department regulations provided other arrangements for postoffices whose volume of business did not warrant the use of a store room or regular office. In such cases, the local postmaster was authorized to secure "a plain desk of cheap wood with good lock and key at the expense of the department."

Missouri's early postmasters used newspaper announcements to beg letter writers to use full names and addresses on the mail which they sent out. Incomplete addresses were common and covered lots of territory. Letters from the East often arrived in St. Louis addressed simply "Samuel Smith, Esq., Boone's Lick Country." Many of these letters were sent westward across Missouri on the Boone's Lick trail and some eventually found their way to the person to whom they were addressed. Others ended up in dead letter storage in the frontier postoffices and became entries on the long dead letter

lists which were posted on the bulletin boards in the various towns and published in the early newspapers.

Some letters were sent out with instructions for the receiving postmaster to publish notice of the arrival of the letter in the local newspaper in the hope that the addressee, whose exact whereabouts were unknown, would see the notice and call for the letter at the postoffice. Extra postage was provided for this service.

Prior to the first regular issue of postage stamps by the Postoffice Department in 1847, postmasters merely marked "paid" or "due" on letters accepted for dispatch. Sometimes handstamps of various designs were used. Later postmasters issued stamps on their own authority. These stamps, however, were recognized as valid only between the postmaster and the patrons of his office.

[References: *History of Adair, Sullivan, Putnam, and Schuyler Counties, Missouri* (Chicago, 1888), pp. 174, 337, 374; Perkins, E. F., *History of Marion County, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1884), p. 829.]

LECTURERS EXPECTED RUDENESS IN MISSOURI— AND SOMETIMES FOUND IT.

Released February 1-15, 1951

"What's he done?" asked a servant at the Planters' House in St. Louis in 1856, when told that William Makepeace Thackeray was a guest. This uninformed citizen represented only one part of Missouri's population, but this was the part that characterized the state in the minds of many eastern and foreign lecturers.

The St. Louis Mercantile Library Association, one of the most act-



**Famous Lecturers Addressed
Missourians In The 1850's.**

tive organizations in the lyceum field, after trying in 1852 to procure prominent speakers for its lecture series, complained that outsiders had a badly mistaken idea about the condition of life and civilization in and around St. Louis. Frontier manners were expected there, they said—"a rude roughness, a taste for a stump speech, a population eminently qualified to appreciate a bear fight, and judge of the qualities of pork, upon whom the deliberately wrought, learned lecture would be thrown away."

Perhaps there were some grounds for such expectations, however, for as late as 1882 Oscar Wilde complained that his St. Louis audience was "villainous." Having drawn unappreciative laughter, whistling, and stomping of feet from the "tough boys" on the back row throughout his lecture, he left the platform abruptly, declaring that he had received "the worst treatment in America."

But such complaints were the exception rather than the rule. Although the lyceum groups did at times have difficulty in enticing outside speakers to what was considered the "back woods," still they presented many outstanding local scholars and managed to bring in such people as Thackeray, Emerson, Bret Harte, Henry Ward Beecher, and Harriet Beecher Stowe.

Feeling self-conscious about their pioneer heritage and lack of culture, the people of Missouri made great efforts to equal the intellectual attainments of the East, and early in the 1800's began holding lecture courses, lyceums, and debates. Thus the lyceum platform became a tradition, not only in St. Louis, "the Athens of the West," as she liked to consider herself, but also in many other Missouri towns. While the St. Louis lyceum was debating whether or not capital punishment should be abolished, the Liberty lyceum discussed "Is man a free moral agent?" and "Is conscience innate?" and the St. Joseph lyceum debated "Are the inferior animals immortal?"

Such lectures and discussions, sometimes costing no more than one dollar for a course of twenty lectures, with "ladies admitted free," proved highly popular, and led the president of one society to remark that "the sceptre of learning was fast passing from the hands of the few into the possession of the many."

Occasionally this "learning" was none too reliable, as when the St. Louis lyceum held a debate on phrenology among four doctors. They debated about two hours then referred the question to the audience, which decided "that phrenology is entitled to the confidence and belief of the public." Speakers and debates covered almost every conceivable subject, from "Matter and the phenomena of its composition and decomposition in the formation of the earth and its products," to "The responsibilities of man."

But by the last quarter of the century the lyceum movement was on the wane, members of the library association observing that "the conditions under which lecture lyceums came into existence in this country have entirely passed away." Perhaps the growth of schools, libraries, and the great improvements in communications precluded the need for lyceums. At any rate, the institution died nearly as rapidly as it had been born, and for many years has been almost a thing of the past.

[References: Hubach, Robert R., "St. Louis, Host of Celebrated Nineteenth Century British and American Authors," *Missouri Historical Review*, 38 (July, 1944), pp. 375-387; St. Louis Mercantile Library Association Annual Reports, *Seventh Annual Report, 1852* (St. Louis, 1853), pp. 24-25; Scharf, J. Thomas, *History of Saint Louis City and County* (Philadelphia, 1883), Vol. 1, p. 963 and Vol. 2, p. 1600.]

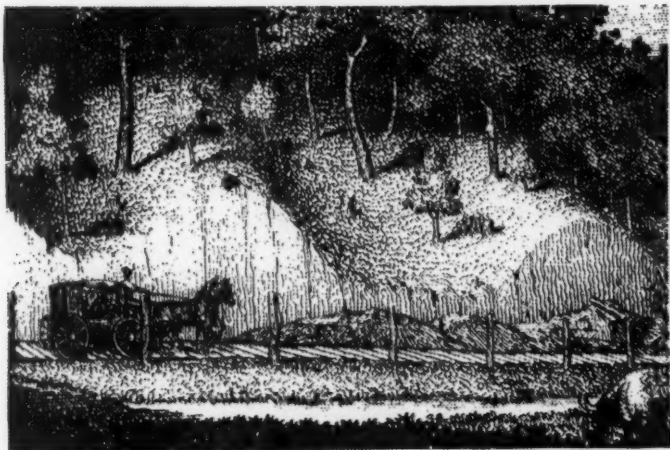
IMPRACTICAL PLANK ROADS LOST MONEY IN THE 1850's

Released February 16-28, 1951

Missouri road problems today seem mild compared to those of a century ago, when the "plank road mania" hit the state. Many Missourians in the 1850's shared the opinion of the Clay County newspaper editor who warned his readers, "It is time we were doing something in the plank road line if we wish to keep our trade."

On the theory that timber was plentiful and convenient, and with dreams of quick 10% profits on their investments, Missourians rushed to form corporations chartered by the state as plank road companies. February 27, 1851, a plank road law was approved by the General Assembly. Forty-nine companies

were chartered to build such roads from towns on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers to points in the interior, a proposed road from Versailles to the Pacific Railroad being the only exception.



**A Stagecoach Traveling The Plank Road West Of Hannibal.
From A Rare Print Made In 1855.**

Luckily for the investors, only seventeen plank roads were actually built. The law provided that the roads be fifty feet wide, the wooden part being eight to twelve feet in width. They were constructed by laying three oak sills lengthwise in the roadway, with oak planks two and one-half inches thick placed across them.

It was through tolls collected that the roads were supposed to profit. Charters fixed the rate at a penny or two per mile for various kinds of vehicles, riders on horseback, or driven stock. Toll gates were spaced at regular intervals to collect from travelers.

Only rarely did the tolls amount to more than the cost of repairs and expenses, however. Planks wore out quickly under heavy traffic, washouts scattered them, and they warped until

they "resembled the rockers of a rocking chair." When companies used gravel to replace decaying planks, their financial loss was slightly less.

Among the plank roads actually built in Missouri, perhaps the longest and most famous was the Ste. Genevieve, Iron Mountain, and Pilot Knob Plank Road. It was completed from Ste. Genevieve to Iron Mountain by way of Farmington in the fall of 1853. Five toll gates were placed along the forty-two miles of this road and great amounts of mineral and agricultural products were carried over it while it lasted.

Point Pleasant in New Madrid County was the terminus of a plank road that came from the interior of Arkansas. In Howard and Randolph counties was another famous plank road, extending from Glasgow to Huntsville, by way of Roanoke. Parts of this road are now Highways 5 and 20.

In July, 1855, a ten-mile plank road was completed from Columbia to the Missouri River port at Providence, at a cost of \$3000 per mile. Other roads were built in Lafayette, Marion, Ralls, Pike, Cape Girardeau, and St. Louis counties.

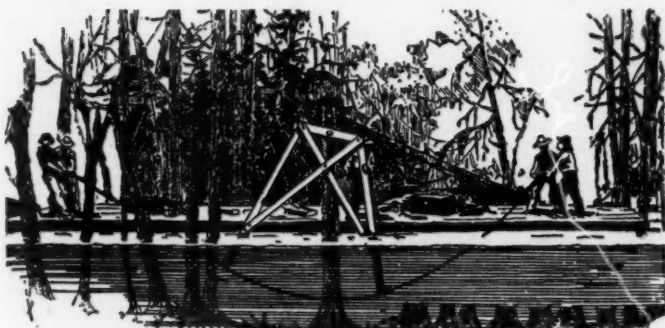
The fate of the Glasgow to Huntsville road was typical of that of most plank roads in Missouri. As early as 1860 the directors realized that the road's condition was hopeless, and after using gravel for a while without prospering they turned the road over to the counties.

Neglect and disorder during the Civil War hastened deterioration, and finally the "plank road mania" gave way to the railroad-building fever of the 1860's. But the unfortunate investors in plank roads deserve credit for starting the good roads movement in Missouri.

[References: Gentry, North Todd, "Plank Roads in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, 31 (April, 1937), pp. 272-287; *Laws of the State of Missouri, 1850-51* (Jefferson City, 1851), pp. 259-265; *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, Feb. 6, 1852; Shoemaker, Floyd C., editor, *Missouri, Day By Day* (Columbia, Mo., 1942-43), I, 158.]

**MISSOURI ENGINEER REGIMENT SAWED STEAMBOAT
CHANNEL THROUGH NEW MADRID SWAMP***Released March 1, 1951*

"Saw's pinched again," a husky sergeant yelled, and the words were hardly out of his mouth before Corporal Devillo Grow had plunged into the icy chill of the flooded New Madrid swamp.



**Missouri Engineer Regiment Sawing Channel Through
Swamp To Help U. S. Troops Capture Island No. 10.**

Dozens of times already he had groped under four feet of muddy water to free the saw teeth from the waterlogged trunk of a tough old cypress. And he would do the same thing a dozen times again before he and his mates would complete the "impossible" task of sawing a steamboat channel through the flooded forest to outflank a Confederate stronghold on a Mississippi River island.

In the midst of Civil War fighting in the spring of 1862, Union troops were held up on the west bank of the Mississippi at New Madrid, Missouri, by a strongly fortified Confederate garrison on Island No. 10 just above the town. General Pope was ready to cross his Union troops to the Tennessee side to attack Island No. 10 from the rear, but no boats were available and the advance was stopped.

The necessary boats, including two Mississippi River ironclads completed by Capt. James B. Eads in St. Louis shortly before, were held at bay above Island No. 10 by Confederate siege guns which commanded the river.

When Commodore Foote declined to risk his ironclads in a running dash past the strongly fortified island, Col. Josiah W. Bissell, a St. Louis volunteer who commanded the Missouri Engineer Regiment, laid another plan. This daring scheme, so original in its conception and far-reaching in its results, was later called a monument of engineering enterprise and skill by General Halleck, commander of the Union forces in the West.

Col. Bissell conceived the plan, but the men who carried it out were Corp. Devillo Grow and a hundred others like him—men who tugged and pushed the rocking arm frames for the big cross-cut saws, bent in a semi-circle to cut off tree trunks four feet under water. Other equally hard-working engineers pulled waterlogged brush and tree limbs out of the three mile long channel through the woods.

The channel was too shallow to accommodate the ironclads, but four smaller sternwheelers, drawing from thirty to thirty-six inches of water were inched through an opening in the river levee, along a flooded roadway, across a corn field and three miles through the woods. At the end of the man-made channel was Wilson's Bayou which led to St. John's Bayou and the town of New Madrid.

For sixteen days Col. Bissell and the Missouri Engineers grubbed out the narrow pathway through a maze of huge cottonwoods and old swamp elms. Just as success was in sight the flood water receded two feet, and some of the underwater stumps had to be cut off a second time.

Finally on March 6, 1862, the four sternwheelers and the six big barges were tied up at New Madrid ready to carry General Pope's troops across the Mississippi to attack Island No. 10 from the rear. Two nights before the "overland flotilla" arrived at New Madrid, Commander Henry Walke ran the ironclad "Carondelet" past the Confederate siege guns. The red glow of burning soot in her stacks alerted the Confederate gunners, who opened fire. Only the fact that Com-

mander Walke ran the "Carondelet" so close to the island that defense guns could not be depressed to hit a target at such short range, saved the vessel from destruction. Two nights later the ironclad "Pittsburg" also ran the gauntlet of Confederate fire from Island No. 10.

Confederate defenders on the island held out only two days in the face of the subsequent Union attack.

[References: Miller, Francis Trevelyan, *Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York, 1912), I, 216-224; Neal, W. A., *An Illustrated History of the Missouri Engineer and 25th Infantry Regiments* (Chicago, 1889), pp. 35-49.]

MUSTER DAYS MEANT FUN, FROLIC, NOT MUCH MILITARY TRAINING

Released March 15, 1951



**Bizarre Costumes And Hunting
Shirts Marked Muster Drills.**

Pioneer Missourians converted compulsory military training into a festive affair in which the whole community took part, at "Muster Days" in the first half of the 19th century.

The regular Missouri militia was established in 1804 under the Federal law of 1792 providing for a uniformed militia throughout the United States. Militia

service was regarded as an obligation a citizen owed his government, and he served—in most cases—without pay and armed himself at his own expense. In Missouri from 1804 to 1847, free white males of eighteen to forty-five were compelled to attend musters and to serve in the militia when it was called to active duty.

A holiday air prevailed in the settlements on muster days, for military drills were seldom long or taken very seriously. At one time as few as thirty-two men could make a company and 128 a regiment, which resulted in a surplus of officers. The appearance of the men did little to give muster day a military flavor, for each company chose its own uniforms and equipment; a neckerchief and a side arm were usually thought sufficient. Most of the officers, unless they belonged to the regular army, had no more elaborate uniforms than the men. A colorful uniform adopted for the Missouri militia in 1820 consisted of a blue hunting shirt trimmed with red, white pantaloons and vest, and black hat with black cockade and red plume, but this uniform was not in use very long.

Gert Goebel, a German immigrant to Missouri in 1834, said that his summons to attend militia muster directed him to come "armed and equipped, as the law directs." But since no one knew what the law said, everyone came dressed and equipped as pleased his whim. Goebel said of the men lined up for drill, "It was a mob after all. Some had coats on, others were in their shirt sleeves, while still others wore hunting shirts, but none had guns."

Drill was a helter-skelter affair, with men paying little attention to commands, dropping out of line to have a drink, to rest, or as in one instance, to pick strawberries. Goebel said that the men knew nothing about military discipline, but the officers regarded their behavior as "perfectly natural."

After the companies were dismissed, the men staged races and contests of skill or strength, and politicians made stump speeches. Spruce beer, sweet cider, and cookies were offered for sale. Sometimes stronger drink was available, and one writer complained in 1822 that it produced "noise and confusion and insubordination in our ranks, as well as many bloody noses after the dismissal of the companies." Later a law was passed making the possession and sale of liquor on the parade ground a punishable offense.

Missouri's militia served a very real need in the early days when the Indians were a menace to the settlers, but as the

tribes withdrew, the need became less, and compulsory service was discontinued after 1847.

[References: Bek, William G., "The Followers of Duden," *Missouri Historical Review*, 16 (April, 1922), pp. 362-367; *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1886), pp. 728-730; Westover, John G., *Evolution of the Missouri Militia, 1804-1919* (unpublished Doctor's thesis, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., 1948).]

THE PERSONNEL OF THE 1943-1944 MISSOURI CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

BY HENRY J. SCHMANDT*

On September 21, 1943, eighty-three duly chosen delegates assembled in Jefferson City to rewrite Missouri's sixty-eight year old constitution. One year later this group completed its labors and presented a new organic law to the voters for their ratification or rejection. At a special election on February 27, 1945, the people of the State signified their approval of the document submitted to them, and with the execution of this solemn act of popular sovereignty another important landmark in the history of Missouri government and politics was established. Although the Convention failed to adopt such progressive reforms as a unicameral legislature, a short ballot, and a merit system covering all state employees, students of government were in general agreement that the new constitution represented substantial improvement over the old. Those who were closely familiar with the intricacies of Missouri history, politics, and tradition felt well satisfied (and reasonably so) with the accomplishments of the 1943-44 Constituent Assembly.

It seems almost trite to observe that no realistic study of government can disregard the human element in the politics of democracy, yet this fact is often overlooked by the stress placed on the mechanism of government rather than on the motivation forces behind it. Political bodies, after all, are made up of men and women of manifold interests, ideologies, ambitions, and capabilities. These qualities naturally seek expression in one form or another at all political gatherings, entering into and affecting in varying degrees their operations and

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results. For this reason, the study of any political assembly must necessarily be premised upon an understanding of the character of its membership. Only in this way can sufficient consideration be given to the human factor in the great game of democratic politics. Constitutional conventions, being essentially political bodies, are by no means outside these observations. That is why we cannot hope to adequately understand Missouri's latest venture in constitute-making unless we are familiar with the character of the personnel that formulated the new fundamental law of the State. The present article is devoted toward that end. A similar study of the members of the Missouri constitutional conventions of 1820 and 1875 by Floyd C. Shoemaker is included in the *Journal Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875* published in two volumes by the State Historical Society of Missouri in 1920 (Volume I, pp. 57-71).

Since the merits and defects of any designated method of choosing personnel will usually be reflected in the quality and character of the men and women selected, it would be well to call to mind the system of selection employed in Missouri before turning to an examination of the membership itself. Both the old and the new constitutions provide for the selection of district delegates and delegates-at-large.¹ Two representatives are chosen from each of the thirty-four senatorial districts in the State and fifteen delegates are elected at large. The two major political parties are assured of equal representation of district delegates by the constitutional provision restricting each party to the nomination of one candidate in each senatorial district, such candidate to be chosen in the manner prescribed by the senatorial district committees of the respective parties. The two nominees receiving the highest number of votes in each district are then elected. This arrangement not only guarantees bipartisan representation, but it also vests the choice of sixty-eight of the eighty-three delegates solely in the hands of local party organizations and limits popular participation to the purely ministerial act of ratifying the parties' choice.

¹Missouri Constitution (1875) art. XV, sec. 3, as amended Nov., 1920; Missouri Constitution (1945) art. XII, sec. 3.

A somewhat different situation exists with respect to the fifteen delegates-at-large. The constitution particularly specifies that these members be nominated by petition only and voted for on a separate ballot without any emblem or party designation whatever. The choice of the delegates-at-large, in other words, is intended to be on a non-partisan basis so as to afford opportunity for the selection of those not closely affiliated with party organizations. Theoretically, this group would hold the balance of power between the two parties and would furnish a non-political ingredient to the over-all complexion of the convention personnel.

The selection of the district delegates to the 1943-44 Convention was determined almost exclusively by the party organizations—a result that might well have been anticipated under the system employed. The state committees of both the Democratic and Republican parties, in an apparent bid for popular approbation, had recommended that the senatorial district committees call mass meetings in each county or township in their district for the purpose of electing representatives to a district convention, and that this convention in turn nominate the party's candidate for district delegate to the constitutional convention.⁸ This would seemingly give the public an opportunity to take part in the choice of the district representatives as well as in the selection of the delegates-at-large. Few such mass meetings, however, were held outside St. Louis. In most instances the candidates were nominated at meetings of the senatorial committees and other party leaders in the respective districts. In St. Louis, where the recommendations of the state committees were carefully followed by both parties, open meetings were called in each ward of the city's six senatorial districts. Although advertised by the parties and given considerable publicity in the metropolitan press, these meetings were poorly attended and largely by party workers.⁹ They proved to be nothing more than an external formality or an empty gesture toward the principle of popular participation.

⁸*St. Louis Star-Times*, Feb. 13, 1943.

⁹*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 4, 1943.

Despite the non-partisan basis of selection intended by the constitution, the bipartisan principle employed in the choosing of the district representatives was extended even to the delegates-at-large. The precedent for this arrangement had been established in the 1922-23 convention when the two parties each picked seven candidates and jointly agreed upon the fifteenth nominee. The slate thus formed had then received the endorsement and support of both parties.⁴ That this same procedure would be followed in the 1943-44 Convention was indicated as early as December, 1942, when the chairmen of the Republican and Democratic state committees made public an agreement not to engage in a partisan contest for control of the coming convention.⁵ To carry out this understanding, the two state committees met in Jefferson City in March, 1943. Each committee, in addition to choosing seven of the candidates, ratified an agreement reached by their chairmen and other party leaders to the effect that Robert E. Blake, known as an anti-New Deal Democrat, should be the fifteenth nominee. The list agreed upon is noteworthy in that it contained the names of seven or eight candidates who could not be classed as party regulars. It appears that the local party organizations had been content to control the selection of the district delegates and had made little or no effort to place in nomination candidates for delegates-at-large. The circulation of nominating petitions for these offices had consequently been left largely to civic groups, particularly the League of Women Voters.⁶ As a result, the two state committees found themselves compelled to choose from a list of thirty-seven candidates, very few of whom had close party affiliations.⁷ Under such circumstances, the party leaders had no alternative but to make some of their selections from candidates nominated through the efforts of civic organizations. Thus eight of the fifteen candidates slated by the

⁴See Isidor Loeb, "The Missouri Constitutional Convention," *The American Political Science Review* 18 (February, 1924), pp. 18 ff.

⁵*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Dec. 31, 1942.

⁶*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 5, 1943.

⁷In this connection, the *Star-Times* observed that "only three out of . . . [the twelve Republicans] nominated are known as dyed in the wool party members," while of the thirteen Democrats nominated, not more than four were active party workers. (March 9, 1943).

parties were on the recommended list of the League of Women Voters.

Several days after the joint Republican-Democratic slate was made public, Secretary of State Dwight Brown announced that since there was no law governing the listing of candidates in special elections, those candidates on the bipartisan ticket would be placed at the head of the ballot while the others would be listed in the order in which their nominating petitions were filed.⁸ In placing this slate in the top position, Brown was merely following another precedent that had been established in the 1922-23 convention. The League of Women Voters and the candidates not on the bipartisan slate protested vigorously at this procedure and demanded that the names of the delegates-at-large be rotated on the ballots. An unsuccessful suit to compel this action was filed in the State Supreme Court by one of the unslated candidates. In refusing to issue a writ of mandamus to this effect, the court held that the secretary of state had not acted arbitrarily or abused his discretion under the law. It pointed out that the state committees of the two parties that represented 99.9% of the total electors at the last general election in Missouri had joined in endorsing this ticket, and that the action of the secretary of state in placing the list at the head of the ballot was merely a recognition of the principle of two-party government.⁹ The position, of course, gave the bipartisan slate an important strategic advantage since it is a well-known fact that a substantial percentage of electors vote for the candidates whose names appear first on the ballot.

The campaign preceding the election was marked chiefly by the vigorous efforts which the League of Women Voters exerted in behalf of its slate of candidates.¹⁰ Every means of communication was utilized to bring the League's recommendations to the attention of the voters. At the same time, both political parties distributed over a million sample ballots with the admonition to the voters to support their party by upholding the joint

⁸*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, March 19, 1943.

⁹*State of Missouri ex rel. Catron v. Brown*, 350 Mo. 864 (1943).

¹⁰*Kansas City Star*, April 4 and 5, 1943.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 1, 1943.

slate.¹¹ In spite of the energetic campaign waged by the civic groups and the efforts made by the political parties, the voting was extremely light. An approximate total of only 200,000 ballots was cast throughout the state for the delegates-at-large.¹² This was a median of voter participation of less than fifteen percent. In St. Louis, where the president and fourteen members of the Board of Aldermen were also voted on, twenty-eight percent of the registered voters went to the polls, with slightly less than twenty-five percent voting for the delegates at large; while in Kansas City where no local elections were being held, only six percent of the electorate participated in the voting.¹³ This would seem to indicate that had not elections for local offices been held in many Missouri municipalities on the same day as the election of delegates, the percentage of voter participation would have been even lower than it was. Undoubtedly, preoccupation with the war and the absence of many men in service contributed to the small vote, but the chief factor again seems to be the public apathy that is especially noticeable when such matters as constitutional conventions and issues rather than personalities are concerned.

The election returns offer striking proof of the effectiveness of the campaign waged by the Missouri League of Women Voters. Although the bipartisan slate was elected without exception, the eight candidates on this slate who were also on the list endorsed by the League received the greatest number of votes, averaging about 25,000 above the rest of the bipartisan ticket. In like manner, the other seven candidates who received the League's support were the highest of the unslated delegates, with the first running only 9,000 behind the lowest on the bipartisan list of fifteen.¹⁴ Had the party slate not had the

¹¹Stratford Lee Morton, "Missouri Picks Delegates to Revise Constitution," *National Municipal Review*, 32 (May, 1943), pp. 263-5.

¹²*Official Manual of the State of Missouri* (1943-44), pp. 176-181. Contrast this vote with that of the presidential election held seven months later in which a total of 1,572,474 ballots were cast for President in Missouri; or even with the vote of 924,683 cast in the preceding November general election in which the only elective state-wide office voted on was that of Superintendent of Schools. *Official Manual of the State of Missouri* 1943-44, p. 410 and *ibid.*, 1945-56, p. 302.

¹³*Kansas City Star*, April 7, 1943.

¹⁴*St. Louis Star-Times*, April 21, 1943.

advantage of being at the head of the ballot, it is quite possible that all of the League endorsements would have prevailed.

The successful repetition of the procedure followed in the 1922-23 convention in respect to the joint party ticket furnishes convincing evidence that the bipartisan make-up of constitutional conventions is now firmly embedded in Missouri tradition. The almost unanimous approval of the principle by the membership of the 1943-44 convention and the general public satisfaction with the work of that body render it highly improbable that the system will be deviated from in the foreseeable future.

In discussing the characteristics of the 1943-44 membership, occasional comparisons will be made with the personnel of the preceding 1922-23 convention, which was the first chosen under the present method of selection. It will be observed that the membership in each instance followed similar patterns.¹⁰ The personnel of the last convention was singularly representative of all classes and strata of society in the state. In so far as occupations are concerned, the legal profession, as is customary in political assemblies, dominated the scene with forty-one of the eighty-three delegates being lawyers. The remainder of the members were scattered widely among more than a score of callings including seven farmers, six newspaper publishers and editors, five insurance men, four college professors (one of whom was a college president), three realtors, two labor officials, two housewives, two salesmen, a banker, a manufacturer, a civil engineer, a veterinarian, a retired contractor, a title abstractor, and a funeral director. Together with this wide occupational distribution, the major economic interests were well represented. Labor had its avowed proponent in Reuben T. Wood, president of the Missouri Federation of Labor, while the official spokesman of the farm groups was R. W. Brown, president of the Missouri Farm Bureau Federation. Banking and business in-

¹⁰The information concerning the 1943-44 membership was taken from several sources including the biographical data contained in the *Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1943-44*, pp. 143-171, from newspaper accounts, and from personal contacts with the delegates. The information pertaining to the personnel of the 1922-23 convention was obtained principally from the extensive biographical data in the *Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1923-24*, pp. 499-519.

terests, on the other hand, were reflected in such able corporation lawyers as Ethan Shepley and Robert Blake of St. Louis County, Allen McReynolds of Carthage, and Charles Mayer of St. Joseph. In the prior convention, the distribution had not been quite so broad as to occupations. This was chiefly due to the fact that that body had contained fifty-eight lawyers, or seventy percent of the membership. In other respects, the occupational distribution closely coincided.

In the 1922-23 convention, fifty-one of the delegates were native Missourians, whereas in the 1943-44 body sixty-nine of the delegates were born within the state and of these forty-seven were still residents of the community of their birth. Of the remaining fourteen members, two were born in foreign countries (Australia and Syria), three in Illinois, three in Iowa, and one each in Kansas, Texas, Wisconsin, Alabama, Nebraska, and Oklahoma. These nativity figures offer obvious indication that the membership was closely familiar with the traditions, prejudices, customs, and viewpoints of the sections and people it represented.

Accompanying the broad geographical apportionment assured by the district method of selection was also a wide range in the size of the cities, towns, and communities from which the delegates came. Twenty-six of the members were residents of the two large metropolitan areas in the state—St. Louis and Kansas City; seven came from cities having a population of 60,000 to 80,000; five from towns of 20,000 to 40,000; four from towns of 10,000 to 20,000; eleven from towns of 5,000 to 10,000; sixteen from towns of 1,000 to 5,000; and twelve from communities of less than 1,000 inhabitants. As to equality of representation, the position of the two metropolitan areas is considerably more favorable in constitutional conventions than it is in the legislature. In the 62nd General Assembly (1943-44), the St. Louis and Kansas City districts, containing over forty percent of the state's population, had a total of only thirty-two representatives, or twenty-one percent in the lower house; and a total of nine senators, or slightly less than twenty-seven percent in the senate. In the convention, these areas were represented by a total of twenty-six delegates, or thirty-one percent of the

membership. This resulted in part from the fact that eight of the fifteen delegates-at-large were from the two metropolitan sections.¹⁰

Politically, the delegates to the 1943-44 convention were far from being novices. Of the total personnel, not more than eight or ten, most of whom were delegates-at-large, were without important party service. Eighteen of the members (all district delegates) were members of party committees at the time of their election to the convention, and at least twelve others had previous service on such committees. At the same time, experience in public office, both appointive and elective, also characterized the membership. One of the delegates had served as governor of the state, two had been members of Congress, one had been mayor of the city of St. Louis, twenty-four (or thirty-five percent) were former state legislators, two had been members of the 1922-23 Constitutional Convention, five had served as judges of the circuit court, three as probate judges, and one as justice of the peace, and at least eleven were former prosecuting attorneys. A similar situation had prevailed in the 1922-23 body. One of the delegates had served as secretary of commerce in President Wilson's cabinet, fifteen were ex-legislators, six had served as congressmen, five as circuit court judges, one as probate judge, thirteen as prosecuting attorneys, and approximately twenty-nine had been on party committees at one time or another. These figures convincingly demonstrate how heavily the membership of both conventions was weighted on the side of political experience.

As to religious affiliations, the 1943-44 membership was also widely representative. Of the forty-four delegates concerning whom this information was available, there were eleven Methodists, nine Baptists, nine Presbyterians, five Catholics, five members of the Christian Church, two of the Congregational

¹⁰The chief explanation of the fact that representation from large counties is greater in constitutional conventions than in the House of Representatives, is found in the principle of representation in the latter body, which discriminates against counties with large population while giving each county, however small, at least one representative. In the constitutional convention, representation is largely based upon senatorial districts which are supposed to be substantially equal in population.

Church, one of the Church of Christ, one Lutheran, one Quaker, and one from the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

For the second time in Missouri history, women were numbered among the convention delegates. Mrs. Amanda D. Hargis of Springfield, a former state labor commissioner, had been elected as a delegate-at-large, and Mrs. C. A. Crome of Clinton had been selected as a district delegate. Both of these women were Republicans and both were active party organization workers. The fair sex had first been represented in constitutional conventions in 1922 when three women were elected as delegates and a fourth had been appointed to fill a vacancy.

The Negroes, although constituting a substantial minority of the state's urban population, were without a representative from their race in the 1943-44 convention. One Negro, Carl R. Johnson, a Kansas City lawyer, had filed as a candidate for delegate-at-large but his name had been dropped from the list by the secretary of state because of an insufficient number of signatures on his nominating petition.¹⁷ Only one Negro has ever served in a Missouri constitutional convention. He was Benjamin F. Bowles, a Republican, who was selected as a district delegate to the 1922-23 convention from the thirty-second district in St. Louis.

The average age of the delegates to the last convention was much higher than the 1875 convention where it was forty-seven years but only slightly above the 1922-23 constituent assembly where it was fifty-two. Although the absence of many young men in service in 1943 undoubtedly contributed somewhat to the high age factor, it seems apparent that Missouri prefers men of mature years in its conventions. The delegates ranged from thirty-two to seventy-four years of age with the mean being fifty-five. Only three of the delegates were under forty years of age and only twenty-two were less than fifty years old. On the other hand, sixty-one of the members had passed the fifty year mark, with twenty-four (or about thirty per cent) being over sixty years of age and six between the ages of seventy and

¹⁷*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, March 11, 1943.

seventy-five. Ordinarily, the older a person gets the more likely he is to resist change. This unbalanced age distribution would therefore seem to have indicated a convention conservative in tone—one in which it was not likely that major changes in the organic laws of the state would be made. Actually, however, many of the most progressive members were well advanced in years. The group that furnished an enlightened and intelligent leadership in the convention centered around such delegates as Guy B. Park, a former governor of the state, Charles H. Mayer, an ex-legislator and a utilities lawyer, Marshall E. Ford and Allen McReynolds, former members of the general assembly, Thomas C. Hennings, a former judge of the circuit court, Edward M. Stayton, a civil engineer, and Israel A. Smith, a lawyer and a member of the presidency of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Park was seventy-one years of age, Mayer, sixty-seven, Ford, seventy-three, McReynolds, sixty-six, Hennings, sixty-nine, Stayton, seventy, and Smith, sixty-seven. These men were all outspoken advocates of such advanced reforms as the short ballot, the governor's cabinet, an extended merit system, and legislative reorganization. To their leadership must be attributed a large share of credit for the improvements that were accomplished in the basic law of the state. In this respect, it could well be that the high age distribution was a contributing factor to the success of the convention. Younger men with political ambitions are too often prone to use such bodies as a springboard for the furtherance of their own ends.

It is a popular belief that constitutional convention delegates are better qualified and better educated individuals than the members of state legislatures. The validity of this opinion is questionable. Insofar as the 1943-44 convention is concerned, such an impression could certainly not be substantiated on the basis of the district delegates alone. These members, under the Missouri system, were chosen by the political parties. A majority of them, as previously noted, were party regulars of the type that is usually found in state legislative bodies. Their background and experience in public office paralleled that of the typical Missouri legislator. In fact, almost one out of every three district delegates had served in prior

sessions of the general assembly. Their educational qualifications, moreover, differed little from those of the average state lawmaker. Fifty-three percent of the district representatives had attended college as compared to fifty percent of the contemporaneous legislature. When, however, the delegates-at-large are taken into consideration, some credence is given to the popular belief. Thirteen of the fifteen members of this group had attended college with four of them holding more than one degree including two doctorates of philosophy. This raised the percentage of college men serving in the convention to sixty-three percent, a figure substantially higher than that of the 62nd General Assembly. In addition, there were several men of exceptional ability among the delegates-at-large such as Robert E. Blake, Ethan Shepley, Louis Meador, and William L. Bradshaw, who had no close party affiliations and who were characteristic of a type not often found in state legislative assemblies. There is little question but that the added presence of such men contributed materially toward raising the general tenor and caliber of the convention personnel to a point which might reasonably be designated as somewhat superior to that of the average legislature.

In the 1922-23 convention, the educational qualifications of the membership were appreciably higher. This might be expected in view of the large number of lawyers present in that body. Fourteen of the delegates-at-large and approximately forty-two (sixty percent) of the district representatives had received college or university training. This gave an overall figures of about sixty-seven percent. In both conventions, the formal educational superiority of the delegates-at-large over the district delegates is striking.

It might be noted at this point that a proposal calling for the election of delegates by proportional representation was introduced in the 1943-44 convention by Stratford Lee Morton, a delegate-at-large from St. Louis.¹⁸ Morton's proposal, which was based on the Model State Constitution of the National Municipal League, received little support and the matter did not reach the convention floor. Considering the membership

¹⁸*Proposals of the Missouri Constitutional Convention (1943-44) No. 41.*

of the convention as a whole, it is doubtful whether one can say that proportional representation would have secured a wider representation of interests and views than was actually present. Men in all walks of life, of different religious denominations, and of varied economic status were on hand to participate in the democratic process of constitution-making. Included in their number were liberals, conservatives, and reactionaries, politicians and reformers, representatives of labor, agriculture, and capital, men with little formal education to those with Doctor of Philosophy degrees. Without doubt, the functional and interest pattern of the 1943-44 convention was exceptionally broad—a result that had apparently been brought about without conscious design.

A study of the convention personnel would not be complete without some effort being directed toward an evaluation of the influence that the character of the membership had on the proceedings and results as finally embodied in the completed organic document. With this objective in mind, an attempt will be made to correlate several of the more essential attributes of the membership with the nature of the new constitution.

Those who observed the convention in action, as well as those who participated as delegates, have repeatedly stated that the year-long session was remarkably free from the activities of lobbyists and pressure groups. There were, of course, a number of instances where such groups made or attempted to make their influence felt. These included the protests of the real estate interests against the removal of tax limitations on municipalities, the activities of the State Teachers Association in matters pertaining to the sections on education, and the espousal of the intangible personal property tax by the banks. To this list might also be added the fostering of various proposals by the reform and civic groups such as the Anti-Saloon League, the League of Women Voters, the Citizen Council for Missouri Libraries, and the Missouri League of Municipalities; the demands of special interest groups such as the labor and farm organizations; and the pleas of minority groups such as the Negroes. None of these organizations,

however, engaged in lobbying activities in the usually accepted sense of the term. Instead, they sent their representatives to appear before public committee hearings and to openly present their cases. On occasions, they submitted petitions, wrote letters, and sent wires to the delegates, but these tactics were employed on an organized and mass basis in only several instances. Even the public utilities carried on their fight against municipal ownership by formal appearances before committees rather than by winning and dining delegates, as they have been known to do in the past.

The single flagrant example of lobbying in the convention was conducted by the small loan companies. Virtually every known pressure device was resorted to by this group in its effort to defeat constitutional proposals dealing with interest rates. The small loan incident is illustrative of one of the convention's significant features — a feature that resulted largely from the wide functional pattern of the membership. At the risk of over-simplification, it seems reasonable to conclude from a study of the constituent session that the effective pressure in the framing of the state's organic law came not from without but from within the convention. If the small loan companies had had as influential and as effective spokesmen within the convention as had, for example, the banks and trust companies, it is entirely possible they would have had better success. An original proposal was introduced in the convention, fixing a maximum interest rate. This proposal was undoubtedly directed against the small loan companies. It was generally regarded as an unsound proposal, with the result that a substitute was introduced in the convention to invalidate any law fixing the rates of interest for any particular group or class engaged in lending money, and further providing that the rates of interest fixed by law should be applicable to all lenders, without regard to the type or classification of their business (*Journal*, II, March 30, 1944, page 13).

The small loan companies bitterly fought this provision contending that they would be forced out of business if they were put into the same class as the banks. On the other hand, those in the convention who came from the banking and finan-

cial circles vigorously supported the measure. The constitutional provision finally adopted by the convention provided: "No law shall be valid fixing rates of interest or return for the loan or use of money . . . for any particular group or class engaged in lending money. The rates of interest fixed by law shall be applicable generally to all lenders without regard to the type or classification of their business."¹²⁸ This provision placed all lending agencies on an equal basis and wiped out the special status formerly enjoyed by the small loan companies.

Other major groups including labor, agriculture, big business, and the public utilities were also ably represented in the convention and could take care of their various interests. This does not mean to suggest that the delegates who reflected these various viewpoints sacrificed the public welfare for the interests of a special group. Such generally was not the case. What these delegates sought to accomplish was for the most part within the framework of the common good even though direct benefit might be brought to a privileged few. Their action in this respect constituted a legitimate exercise of the process of representation. Yet, at the same time, it tends to dispel the popular belief that the members of constitutional conventions are drawn from a special species and that they function on a purely unselfish plane quite remote from mundane influence. Actually, the varied representation in the convention seems to have resulted in a balancing of forces and pressures so that no group acquired an undue advantage nor were the interests of any important element entirely disregarded.

A similar situation existed with respect to the political parties. There is little indication that either of the two party organizations made any efforts to influence their members who were serving in the organic assembly. During the course of the entire session neither the Republican nor the Democratic state committees made a single official pronouncement with respect to any issue pending before the convention. Individual party members did on occasions approach some of the delegates, as certain legislators did in connection with proposed

¹²⁸*Constitution of the State of Missouri, 1945, Art. III, Sec. 44, 49-50.*

reforms of the general assembly, but these were wholly isolated instances. Again, it must be noted that there was little necessity for the parties to exert pressure from without. Like the other major interests, they were well represented within the convention. The wholly bipartisan composition of the membership (forty-two Democrats and forty-one Republicans) meant that neither party could gain effective control of the convention and that no measure detrimental to either party could be passed. Moreover, the large percentage of party workers gave definite assurance that there would be no radical curtailment of elective offices and no wholesale diminution of patronage opportunities. Proof of this is found in the completed document. Despite strong support and agitation for a short ballot and a state-wide merit system, the only important elective office to be abolished was that of the state superintendent of schools, and the only employees to be placed under the merit system were those working in the state penal and eleemosynary institutions. The same was true of the general assembly. Although that body had been the subject of extensive criticism and repeated demands for a major overhauling both in structure and procedure, only a few minor modifications were made in respect to the latter.

Yet it is important to remember that some progress was made in all of these matters, disappointing as it may have been to the more advanced advocates of constitutional reform.¹⁰ And because the changes were moderate, they aroused no substantial opposition either within or without the convention. On the other hand, had the constituent assembly adopted the short ballot and a complete merit system, the proposed constitution

¹⁰This point is well illustrated in the matter of the short ballot and the governor's cabinet. Although the offices of Secretary of State, Attorney General, State Auditor, and State Treasurer remained elective, they were stripped of their tax collecting and other extraneous duties. The tax collecting functions, previously handled by ten different agencies, were then consolidated into a new Department of Revenue headed by an appointed Director. In addition, the number of governmental departments was limited to fourteen, and the Governor was given power to assign each of the seventy-two existing boards and agencies exercising administrative or executive authority to the department to which their respective powers and duties were germane. (Constitution of Missouri, 1945, art. IV, secs. 12-15). These improvements provided many of the benefits of the cabinet form of administration even though the principle of the short ballot was rejected.

would not only have lost the support of many of the delegates but would have aroused considerable hostility from political sources. In the face of such opposition, it is doubtful that popular ratification would have been obtained.

In an address to the delegates at the close of the session, Dean Isidor Loeb of Washington University gave expression to the theory on which the convention had proceeded. He said:

I wish to emphasize the fact that you have had in mind that after all you were not here for the purpose of drafting a perfect constitution for Missouri, which would get no further than engrossment on parchment. You were concerned after all with giving this state, our state, a better constitution than the existing constitution, and in order to get that you had to make sure, or at least so far as you were able, that your work when submitted would receive the approval of the voters.²⁰

And delegate Charles H. Mayer of St. Joseph asserted that:

Necessarily it [the constitution] is the result of compromise. After all, it was written to please no one group of people, but to be reasonably satisfactory to all of them. Personally, I think that if the new constitution is adopted, it will prove a better and a more workable instrument because it is a composite expression, rather than if it were perfect merely from the viewpoint of the idealist.²¹

This practical-minded approach was one that might naturally be expected from a body weighted as heavily on the side of political experience as the 1943-44 convention. It was an approach that did result in a new and mildly progressive constitution for the state of Missouri.

²⁰*Journal of the Missouri Constitutional Convention (1943-44)*, Vol. IV September 27, 1944, pp. 13-14.

²¹*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, November 27, 1944.

A SONGBAG FROM THE OZARKS' HOLLOWS AND RIDGY MOUNTAINS¹

BY JOHN GOULD FLETCHER²

The publication of the fourth volume of these ballads³ brings to a close the most extensive collection of similar folksong material so far brought out in this country. The astonishing fact is that most of this material derives from the Ozarks of Arkansas and Missouri. There, according to legend, shoeless natives chase razorback hogs, or spend their time drinking moonshine whiskey under the trees. These same natives work hard, meet and gossip rarely, and occasionally sing ballads when their work is over.

In these four volumes Vance Randolph sets himself alongside the late John A. Lomax as America's most important folksong collector. He has followed innumerable leads, and wandered endless trails, and come up at the end with an immense load of pure, virgin ore from the mossy Ozark ledges.

Here are 800 ballads—all of them gathered over a period of about twenty years, from a region that is roughly bounded

¹This full page, illustrated review of Volume IV of *Ozark Folksongs* is reprinted from *The New York Times Book Review* magazine, page 7, of May 28, 1950, by permission of *The New York Times* and Mrs. John Gould Fletcher of Little Rock, Arkansas. The review-article is a distinct contribution in itself. Volume I of *Ozark Folksongs* was reviewed by Marguerite Young in the *Times* of March 20, 1947, and Volume II by Hilda Lake on May 16, 1948.

²JOHN GOULD FLETCHER, a native of Arkansas, was a graduate of Harvard and received an LL.D. from the University of Arkansas in 1933. He was the author of a number of books of poetry and prose and he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for poetry in 1939.

³"This review was among the last critical pieces John Gould Fletcher wrote before his tragic death on May 10. It reflects the shift of interest in his later years from Imagism to indigenous themes. As a young man (he was born in Arkansas in 1886), Mr. Fletcher had been, with D. H. Lawrence, Ezra Pound, and Amy Lowell, a leading Imagist poet. At 29 he published his most important single book of verse, *Irradiations*. For his *Selected Poems* he got a Pulitzer Prize in 1939." *New York Times Book Review* magazine, May 28, 1950, p. 7.

⁴*Ozark Folksongs*, collected and edited by Vance Randolph, edited for the State Historical Society of Missouri by Floyd C. Shoemaker and Frances G. Emberson, in four volumes. Published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, 1946, 1948, 1949, and 1950.

on the southeast by Little Rock and on the southwest by Muskogee, Okla., while Nevada, Mo., and Poplar Bluff, in the same state, form roughly its northern boundaries. In this great parallelogram of ridgy mountain and steep hollow, little known before this century and not too well known today, Mr. Randolph has worked as scholar, research specialist and as editor.

There is much here, in the last two volumes in particular, to dispel the suspicion entertained by many that the typical Ozarker, whether male or female, is suspicious, ornery, a good hand with a gun, and a mean person to get along with. The first two volumes show plainly enough that the Ozarker is not unlettered, since he so often has quite a remarkable memory for ballads heard in his youth, ballads which were brought to these shores long ago from far-off England, or made up by pioneer Americans. These have been handed down from generation to generation, and it is indeed amazing that they are still being sung today.

The final two volumes contain ballads, for the most part of later origin, which not only fully reveal the more jolly side of Ozark life, but also something of its religious side. Here are 150 humorous songs and nearly eighty play-party ones. To balance this, there are only sixty-eight hymns, or as Randolph calls them, "brush-arbor" music. He has wisely chosen to include only the more unfamiliar ones, such as "How Tedious and Tasteless the Hours," supposedly known to Abraham Lincoln; or the more impressive "The Last Judgment." These are followed by nearly 200 miscellaneous pieces, ranging all the way from the tragic, through the pathetic, to the humorous.

All the selections are equipped with the most abundant notes, showing where they came from, where and when Mr. Randolph found them. In addition, the four volumes are illustrated with excellent photographs of the singers, taken by Mr. Randolph himself.

As the books show, the people of the Ozark region are not only profoundly and fundamentally religious, but they are essentially traditional in their lives and general outlook. Though unschooled and unlettered in the ordinary sense up to the most recent years, the Arkansas and Missouri mountaineers

are, unquestionably, people of parts—of the all-around kind. Deeply rooted to one background, though the elders are, the young people often travel as far away as California; and for this reason, the ballads are rapidly dying out.

The richness of Ozark balladry comes as a relief to the monotony of drudgery, undertaken in conditions of grinding poverty. In that drudgery the Ozark people fulfill the terms of life honorably and sincerely. As completely and homogeneously as any other group living under similar conditions in this country, they act and behave according to an unwritten but vividly active code of morals. They possess fully both the tragic and the comic spirit—while the life they lead is that of their ancestors before the Revolution in the colonies eastward. They brought their code all the way across the Mississippi, and still abide by its precepts today.

It is only to those who manifest a strong desire to hear their songs that the mountaineers reveal them. The family spirit and the family tradition keep their tunes within the boundaries of their own friends and connections.

Several of these songs are sentimental, about sweethearts killed or lovers parted. Others express sorrow at leaving home, —a sentiment peculiar, it seems to early America, which Stephen Foster, who worked in the folksong spirit, so deeply and truly expressed. These are much admired because they appeal to a people familiar with actual leave-takings.

Many are far more melodramatic, about outlaws and villains; or about some terrible crime committed long ago by False Lamkin, who because he was not paid for building Lord Arnold's castle, sneaked in and killed his master's wife and child; or about Edward, who betrayed the crime of killing his brother by failing to wipe off the blood from the point of his knife. But about an equal number are comic, in the true grotesque spirit of early America:

*I wish I was an apple,
A hanging on a tree;
And every time my true love passed
She'd take a bite of me.*

*Her head is like a coffee-pot,
Her nose is like a spout.
Her mother is like an old fireplace,
With the ashes all raked out.*

In this vein, too, are the Negro minstrel songs, songs taken from some of the old patent medicine songbooks and become so popular as to be accepted by the folk, as well as songs of pure nonsense. All these contrast with the almost ritual solemnity of the older ballads. It is obvious that Randolph has enjoyed them all and that he has fully manifested his love by annotating them as a scholar.

He has erected this great monument to the memory of a people now rapidly changing. It is one which will delight hundreds of scholars, while dozens of simpler people whose interest lies in the richness of American folk poetry will long for the day when they can possess it.

Here, in 800 different pictures, is a life that was unchanged in essence up to a few brief years ago. It has been a life profoundly American in the deepest sense, in that it aimed to cultivate qualities that have been ours from the Thirteen Colonies up to the Revolution, and from that time up to the tragedy of the Civil War. However, with Vance Randolph as champion, it has now found its most comprehensive, most deeply original chronicler and observer.

ONE OF THE SONGS OZARKERS SING

"Sheepskin and Beeswax"

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The melody is simple and folk-like. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Sheep-skin and bees-wax Makes an aw-ful plas-ter, The
worse you try to git it off, The more it sticks the fast-er.

From Ozark Folksongs

MISSOURI'S FIGHT OVER EMANCIPATION IN 1863

BY BILL R. LEE*

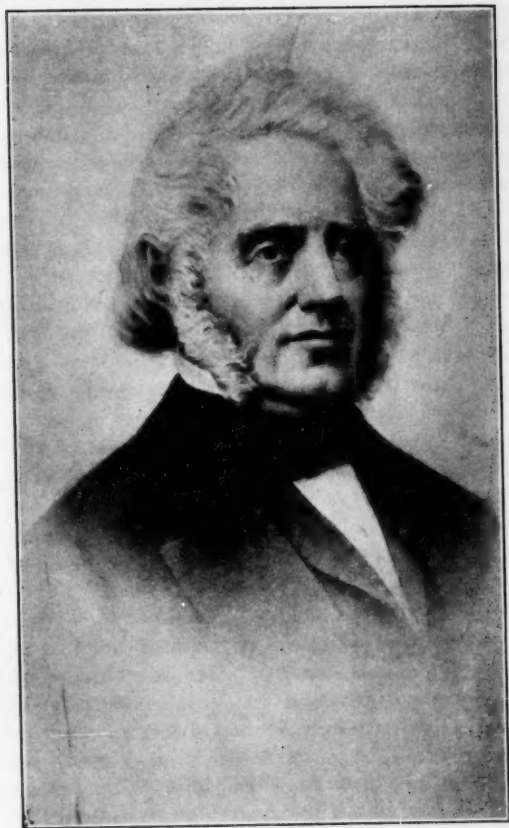
The year 1863 was a red letter year in the history of emancipation in Missouri for it was during that period that the movement rose to overshadow all other issues, public leaders were at the throats of their opponents, and Missouri's newspapers were involved in the type of scurrilous and partisan journalism reminiscent of the Federal-Republican era of United States history.

Missourians had changed in sentiment since 1861. This fact was noted by Charles D. Drake, prominent abolitionist, in a speech which he made in Jefferson City, September 1, 1863, when he stated that "the sentiments of the people of Missouri in regard to the institution of slavery underwent a radical change" from the time of Gov. Gamble's proclamation of August 4, 1861, which pledged that the institution of slavery would be protected, to the time at which Drake was speaking.¹

In 1863 the bone of contention was not so much whether the slaves should be freed or not, for many realized that slavery was on its way out. The alignments were, rather, gradual emancipationist versus immediate emancipationist, Conservative versus Radical, "Snowflake" versus "Charcoal." The battle for supremacy, begun in 1863, was ultimately to bring triumph to the Radical Republicans and to place them in a position to dominate the state for six years, 1865-1870. The developments of 1863, as recorded in the newspapers of the state, forecast the fate of the "peculiar institution" and recorded the rapid progress made toward eventual freedom for the slaves.

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¹Charles D. Drake, *Union and Anti-Slavery Speeches Delivered during the Rebellion* (Cincinnati, 1864), pp. 348-9.



Governor Hamilton R. Gamble, 1861-1864

On December 29, 1862, the regular session of the Twenty-second General Assembly convened at Jefferson City, with the organization of the two houses the first business on the agenda.¹¹ Caucuses were held by those favoring emancipation and those against. The emancipationists, finding they had the strength to elect all the officers, "made a clean sweep by the nomination of every officer of the House from Speaker down to the Pages!"¹² L. C. Marvin of Henry County, a minister and an avowed emancipationist, was elected speaker of the House by a majority vote of twenty-five over the Conservative candidate, Joseph Davis. J. V. Pratt of Linn County, formerly a colonel of the Eighteenth Missouri Volunteers (Union), was named chief secretary, or clerk. W. P. Hall, lieutenant-governor, was in the chair in the Senate. After organization, the assembly met in joint session to hear the message of Hamilton R. Gamble, provisional governor.

The major portion of the governor's speech was devoted to the question of emancipation.¹³ Carefully avoiding the moral abolitionist arguments for the Negro's freedom, Gamble asked for liberation for economic reasons. He felt that the material interests of Missouri would be better promoted by free labor and that to induce laboring men to come from other states, Missouri would have to adopt measures assuring them that Missouri would be a free state.

Concluding that Missouri's needs called for a "scheme of emancipation," Gamble raised the question whether that plan should be gradual or immediate. He asked the members of the assembly to "treat it as statesmen, looking at things as they are, with a dispassionate regard for the welfare of the State." He argued that any sudden change in the labor system of a state would be dangerous for it would withdraw, at too rapid a pace, the activity producing element which was needed to develop Missouri's resources.¹⁴

¹¹Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, January 9, 1863.

¹²*Ibid.*, January 9, 1863.

¹³Buel Leopard and Floyd C. Shoemaker, *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* (Columbia, State Historical Society, 1922), III, 444-5.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

Most of the Conservative Democratic newspapers, and several of the moderate Republican organs, voiced approval of the governor's proposals and endorsed his plan for gradual emancipation. Colonel William F. Switzler, once a Whig⁵ and now a staunch Democrat, was generous with praise in an editorial, and repeated many of the governor's reasons for abolishing slavery.⁶

Expressing a belief in the necessity of abolition and an opinion that a majority of the people would not object to a fair means of bringing it about, the St. Louis *Missouri Republican* offered a plan in some detail. The legislature, it said, could pass an act giving freedom to nearly all persons after a certain period, and setting a date, January, 1866, after which no Negro, born in Missouri, would be in bondage. The paper proposed an amendment to the constitution providing: every child of ten years of age, and under, to be free at twenty-five, all slaves between twenty-one and forty, to be free after a service of ten years, and all slaves over forty, to be cared for, as now, by their masters.⁷

Not all of the Democratic press favored even gradual liberation, however, for there were many Conservatives who did not wish to disturb the rights of the slaveholders, and held that emancipation was unconstitutional. Robert H. Miller, editor of the *Lexington Tribune* wrote, "We are for yielding nothing, but for standing by our rights, and for fighting the battle from principle . . . looking to the *rights* of the slaveholders, under our Constitution, to the good of the State or to the welfare and happiness of the negro."⁸

Miller attempted to refute five reasons given by the emancipationists for abolishing the institution: (1) the slaveholding states of the South had seceded from the Union; (2) President Lincoln offered some compensation for the slaves freed; (3) the people of Missouri had spoken in favor of emancipation in the 1862 elections for members of the legislature; (4) it

⁵Minnie Organ, "History of the County Press of Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, IV (January, 1910), 115.

⁶Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, January 9, 1863.

⁷St. Louis *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, February 3, 1863.

⁸Liberty *Tribune*, January 30, 1863.

was necessary to assure the future prosperity of the state; and (5) the welfare and happiness of the Negro race required it.

To the first argument, the editor said that the action of the seceded states presented no excuse to disturb slavery in Missouri. In answer to the second, he contended that the offer of compensation was a "mere farce, intended to get around the plain provisions of the Constitution" As for the people of Missouri having spoken in favor of emancipation, the colonel said that not one-fourth of them had done so. "There are in the State, fully 175,000 voters; about 85,000 voted at the November election, and not one-half of the 85,000 were emancipationists."

The prosperity of the state did not depend upon emancipation, he said; on the contrary, it could only be maintained with the continuance of slavery. Certain sections of the state were suited to the growing of staples such as hemp, corn, and tobacco, and only slave labor was adapted to the cultivation of them. Free labor was not capable of producing these crops, but was better fitted in the regions where stock raising or mining was the chief industry. "Emancipate the slaves and you break up the wealth" of the staple sections, said Miller.

To answer the last argument, Miller fell back upon the justification of slavery advanced earlier by Thomas R. Dew, J. H. Hammond, and Chancellor Harper.* Miller's theories about slavery and the Negro were also similar to those of M. T. Wheat, who published in 1863 a treatise for the vindication of the Negro's servitude on theological, historical, and organic grounds.¹⁰ Said the *Tribune* editor:

Emancipate the slaves and . . . you come in contact with nature's laws, run counter to them, and attempt a wisdom greater than that of your Maker . . .

The Scriptures teach us that the relation of "master and servant" was recognized by our Savior—that He gave directions concerning it; that He never denounced it, never abrogated it, and these things being so, He will "utterly confuse" all attempts at undoing His work.¹¹

*William B. Hesseltine, *A History of the South, 1906-1936* (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1938), pp. 253, 274-81.

¹⁰M. T. Wheat, *The Progress and Intelligence of Americans; Collateral Proof of Slavery*, Rev. ed. (Louisville, 1863).

¹¹*Liberty Tribune*, January 30, 1863.

The most severe critics of the Gamble policies were the Radical papers, which increased in number and influence during the year. The well-edited *Missouri State Times*, established primarily as an emancipation organ¹² in Jefferson City, was among the first to attack the message. Dr. William A. Curry, in an editorial, advanced a plan for immediate freedom for the slaves, and by "immediate" he meant at some time during 1863. The action, however, was to depend on the state's obtaining the means from Congress to compensate loyal owners. Curry feared that with a gradual emancipation ordinance, the pro-slavery elements would unite after the war and repeal such provision. "Abolish slavery at once and forever, and leave nothing to chance," wrote Curry.¹³ The governor had warned against sudden withdrawal of the labor force as disastrous to the state's economic interests. Curry insisted that the war had already withdrawn a large portion of this labor, by causing the removal, southward, of many slaves, and causing another large portion to become fugitive, never to return. He concluded that by holding on to the remainder, the state prevented free white emigration.¹⁴

Another objector was the St. Louis *Missouri Democrat*, which, despite its name, was the most rabid Republican paper in the state. It was sorely grieved because the governor had sidestepped the moral aspect of emancipation. An editorial berated Gamble:

The dignity of the Governor, as to the style of his message, is most commendable. But its freedom from the recognition of morals as an element of legislation, except as far as maintaining good faith with creditors, is not so praiseworthy.¹⁵

The *Democrat* believed Gamble unsound in his argument that the sudden freedom of the slaves would throw the productive interests of the state into confusion. It asserted that there were not over 25,000 able bodied slave laborers in the state, and to suppose that the change of status from slave to free would

¹²Minnie Organ, "History of the County Press of Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, IV (July, 1910), 257.

¹³Jefferson City *Missouri State Times*, January 3, 1863.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, January 3, 1863.

¹⁵St. Louis *Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat*, January 5, 1863.

create any lack of labor supply was "looking at a very small point with a very great magnifier." The *Democrat* stated that if the slaves were freed, they would do more work, and do it better, than they would in slavery. Even if the slave labor were a dead loss, it would be more than made up in free white labor which would emigrate consequent upon complete emancipation. The governor was wrong when he said that a gradual system would remove objections of those who would be inclined to enter Missouri.¹⁶

Whatever the system, emancipation was a subject of interest and concern to almost all of Missouri's people, and there was much discussion of it early in the year. The newspapers were filled with editorials regarding the matter, and readers were anxious to express their views through letters. One of these letters dealt with the question of the emancipated Negro's social status, should he be freed. Undoubtedly, the frequently discussed age-old apprehension of the South prompted "Montgomery" to write:

. . . I desire to say a few words on a popular error, which was not only used by the Secessionists to a large extent to justify the rebellion, but has obtained some footing among some professed, and probably truly Union people. I allude to the cry so constantly used by some persons, that in the event of emancipation without deportation of the slaves, they must necessarily become equal with the whites in all respects political and social . . .

.

Let the form of Government be what it will, the terms of social equality will always be regulated by society to suit itself, according to its own standard of virtue, religion, and morals. The color and physical attributes of the race, prove that they were not intended for social or political equality with the white race, nor do I believe they ever can or will be made so, except by the consent of the whole race.¹⁷

While the newspapers and their editors and readers were positive in their opinions as to what should be done about slavery, the legislature was not inclined to express itself in the form of legislation. Many problems had to be solved before the assembly could turn its entire attention to the question of

¹⁶*Ibid.*, January 5, 1863.

¹⁷*Louisiana Journal*, January 22, 1863.

abolition. However, a resolution was passed in the House which referred the subject to a committee, made up of nine members representing each congressional district.¹⁸ The committee was to receive all resolutions, petitions, etc., regarding emancipation presented to the house and to "report on the same by bill." The work of the committee was soon lost to public notice, as the assembly turned its attention to the election of United States senators. In order to understand the complications arising out of this election, it is necessary to know the political nomenclature of the assembly.

As it sat in joint session in January, 1863, the legislature was divided into three factions or parties, none having a majority over the other two. The Conservative or Democratic party was the strongest of the three. Next, from the point of strength, was the "radical abolition black Republican" party, and the third and weakest—destined to be absorbed by the other two—was the "Claybank" party, "made up of odds and ends, with a little conservatism and some radicalism, trying to stand midway between democracy and black republicanism."¹⁹ Since both "Claybanks" and Radical Republicans were emancipationists, they had formed a coalition to organize the assembly, but as time passed, they split, a division which became more pronounced throughout the year.

"Claybank" was a name given to one of two factions into which the Republican party of Missouri was divided by the removal of General John C. Fremont from command of the Western Department by President Lincoln in 1861.²⁰ The men in this faction were conservative, followers of Lincoln, and most of them had earlier been Whigs or Know-Nothings. The radical members of the Republican, or Emancipation party, were called "Charcoals," "Radicals," and "Jacobins," interchangeably by the Claybanks and the Democrats. The "Charcoals" were the followers of General Fremont and later advocated his candidacy for the Presidency. Republicans had previously been christened, in derision, "Black Republicans," because of their

¹⁸House Journal, Twenty-second General Assembly, 1863, pp. 28-9.

¹⁹Richmond Northwest Conservator, January 29, 1863.

²⁰William C. Bryant, Sidney H. Gay, and Noah Brooks, *Scribner's Popular History of the United States* (New York, Scribner's, 1898), IV, 482.

sympathy with the Negroes and their opposition to slavery. The Charcoals were so called because they were regarded as the blackest of the black Republicans. The cognomen "Charcoal" owed its paternity to the *Missouri Republican*, which intended it as a badge of shame.²¹ The *Democrat*, however, could see nothing objectionable in the name. It said:

Charcoal, the substance, is one of the most indispensable articles we possess. It is a great purifier, and in this respect a fit representative of what is greatly needed in politics. When ignited it gives a fervent heat, which is indicative of zeal and honesty in support of principle. Says Webster, "it is odorous, and not being decomposable by water or air, will endure for ages without alteration." What better qualities could a political party possess?²²

The Democrats were also given various appellations. They were called "Copperheads," "Snowflakes," "Butternuts," and "Rebels." "Copperhead" was an opprobrious epithet applied by Union men to those who adhered rigidly to the Democratic organization, opposed the war measures of Lincoln's administration, and favored peace.²³ The "Butternuts," in contradiction to the Copperheads, favored the war, and usually voted at elections with the Republicans.

With these groups contending, the first task of the joint legislative session, in relation to the election of senators, was to fill the shortest term, which expired on March 3, 1863. Secondly, the next shortest term, which expired March 3, 1867, was to be filled, and finally, a man must be chosen for the long term of six years.

The Conservatives encountered little opposition in the selection of John B. Henderson to serve during the shortest term. A battle in earnest, however, developed over the nominations for the longer terms. Each of the three parties put up a man for the four-year office. The Democrats named John S. Phelps; the Radicals nominated B. Gratz Brown; and the Claybanks chose Samuel T. Glover. Editors throughout the

²¹St. Louis *Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat*, April 17, 1863.

²²*Ibid.*, April 17, 1863.

²³James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the Final Restoration of Home Rule at the South in 1877* (New York, Macmillan, 1913), IV, 224.

state boomed their party's candidate, and wrote disparagingly of the other two.

Meanwhile the balloting in the legislature continued day after day. As the month wore on, a deadlock ensued, and none of the parties would yield to break it. The Claybanks held the balance of power, and the two larger parties courted them for support. They were never able to come to any agreement, however, and the legislature adjourned on March 23, after failing to elect anyone. Robert Wilson, who had been appointed to fill the term ending March 3, 1867, continued in office until the matter was settled in the next session of the Twenty-second General Assembly in November, 1863.²⁴

Because of the prolonged senatorial fight, and for other reasons, the assembly was unable to accomplish much on the matter of emancipation. The election of members to the legislature in 1862 had been on the basis of the abolition of slavery,²⁵ and since the Emancipation party had possessed sufficient strength to organize both houses, it would seem that a bill of emancipation would be speedily passed. There were, however, insuperable differences in opinions as to the method to be prescribed. The majority believed that some compensation should be given loyal slaveholders, and, whereas many Radicals professed a willingness to agree, they were reluctant to appropriate a large amount of money for payment. Others of them expressed a conviction that there should be no compensation, but that the slaves should be given immediate freedom.

Another reason for the lack of action was that at the same time the national Congress was considering compensation for Missouri, and the legislature waited to ascertain what would be done in Washington. Committees in the national House and Senate were appointed to devise a feasible plan to recommend to Missouri. President Lincoln had, in September, 1862, pledged himself to appeal to Congress to offer to the border

²⁴Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians, Land of Contrasts and People of Achievements* (Chicago, Lewis, 1943), I, 926. In November, the Adjourned Session of the assembly met and elected B. Gratz Brown senator for the term expiring March 3, 1867, and John B. Henderson for the term expiring March 3, 1869. *House Journal*, Adjourned Session of the Twenty-second Gen. Ass., 1863, pp. 19-21.

²⁵Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, February 6, 1863.

states a plan for emancipation, with compensation.²² In his annual message to Congress December 1, 1862,²³ Lincoln proposed what he felt was a practicable plan for Missouri and urged its adoption. The committee on emancipation in the House reported a bill to award \$10,000,000 to Missouri slave owners²⁴ and it passed the House soon afterward and was sent to the Senate. The Senate offered \$20,000,000 if Missouri provided for emancipation before July, 1865, and but \$10,000,000 if she postponed it to July 4, 1876.²⁵ A conference committee of the two houses found it hard to agree on the amount needed.

To obviate this difficulty, the Missouri Senate appointed a committee to determine as well as it could the number of slaves in the state, and the amount Congress should appropriate for them. This committee also differed, and made a majority and minority report. The majority report estimated 94,304 slaves, "which at \$300 each would require \$28,291,200 to be appropriated by Congress to pay for them." The minority group maintained that only \$20,000,000 would be needed.²⁶

Meanwhile in Congress, after a long debate, the Senate and the House were unable to agree on the amount of compensation for Missouri and the Democrats finally filibustered the act to death.²⁷

On the fifth day of March, 1863, the adjournment date of Congress, the *Republican* noted its failure to pass a compensated emancipation bill, and said that it was useless to look for reasons for the omission. "The great outlay of money required for the scheme; the perplexity in regard to the precise number of millions necessary; the unwillingness of the radicals to put their professed philanthropy to the cash test; and the

²²John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States during Lincoln's Administration* (New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1927), p. 270.

²³James D. Richardson (comp.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1787-1897* (Washington, Gov't Printing Office, 1897), VI, 128-142.

²⁴Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, IV, 216. *Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong. 3rd Sess., Part I, pp. 207-8.

²⁵*Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong. 3rd Sess., Part I, p. 903.

²⁶*Senate Journal*, Twenty-second Gen. Ass., 1863, pp. 91-3.

²⁷*Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong. 3rd Sess., Part II, p. 1294, Appendix p. 148.

differences in regard to the details of any plan of emancipation," were considerations which heaped up obstacles to decisive action.²¹ These same reasons applied to the failure of the state legislature to pass a bill freeing the slaves. The assembly was still deliberating upon the question, and hearings were held by the committee in the House. With the Charcoals in control, there had been little disposition on the part of the committee to hear the slaveholders, who would be most directly affected by emancipation. Late in February a resolution was made to allow their opinions to be heard before the committee, and it was proposed that the slave owners hold a convention in May "to take into consideration and express their opinion in reference to the best mode by which to extinguish slavery in Missouri."²²

Political leaders from all over the state gathered at the capital, making speeches and seeking to influence the actions of the legislature. After adjournment for the day, the parties held night sessions in the Senate and House chambers. On the night of February 27, the emancipationists held a meeting in the House. One of the speakers was Charles D. Drake, a rising figure in the Radical ranks. The *Republican* branded Drake, who was to gain a place in Missouri's history as the governing spirit of the 1865 Constitutional Convention, a turncoat, for he had, at one time, declared in the House "that if he had a drop of emancipation blood in his veins, he would open an artery and let it out . . ." A correspondent of the *Republican* speculated on the presence of Drake in the capital:

It has come to be pretty well understood that Mr. Drake has a "mission" here. He wants a new State Convention called, and I am beginning to think that he has a pretty good chance of getting what he wants. If Congress fails, as there is every prospect that it will, to graciously buy our negroes . . . the next project to be tried for securing "the status of a free State," to use a new fashionable phrase, is to call a State Convention, in the election of the members of which none but Emancipationists are to be permitted to vote.²³

²¹St. Louis *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, February 3, 1863.

²²St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, February 28, 1863.

²³St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, February 28, 1863.

If the politicians were active in Jefferson City, their followers were equally busy throughout the state. The people of Missouri, in 1863, took their politics seriously, and all the more were they in earnest on the emancipation question. The fight for superiority between the Radicals and Conservatives was a bitter one and each party contained enthusiastic and aggressive adherents. A letter from Warrensburg, published in the *Missouri State Times*, illustrates to what extremes men could be driven by politics:

The Copperheads and Radicals here, had two fights yesterday—one Copperhead killed—one Radical wounded.

Inge (the Copperhead) died in about half an hour. Courtney (Radical) getting along very well. So the Copperheads got the worst of the fight.

I have no doubt, from all the circumstances, but that it was a preconcerted thing for the assassination of Courtney; but they have failed in it, and whenever they feel like trying another fight, the Radicals are ready.⁴¹

Fortunately not all of the people resorted to such methods. Meetings were held over the state by the Democrats and Conservatives, who called themselves "Union men." "Unconditional Union men" (Radicals) were called upon to assemble in Lexington, to endorse Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and form a Union Club.⁴² There was a call for a Democratic meeting in Richmond, "the time having arrived . . . when all lovers of constitutional liberty should combine their efforts to stay the tide of Jacobinism which is setting in over the land, and labor for the restoration of our country on the basis of the Constitution."⁴³ In Liberty the Conservatives used the same appeal for a mass meeting.⁴⁴

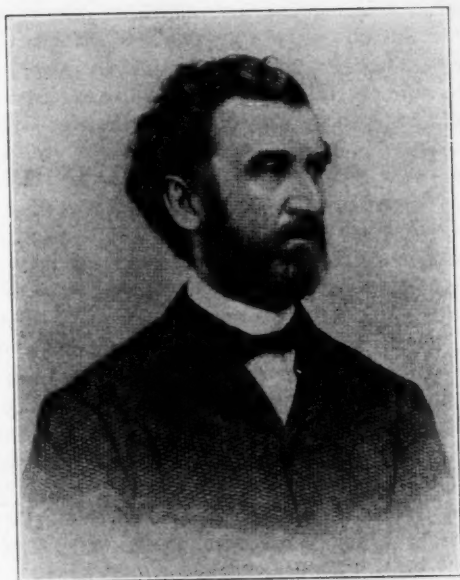
Most of these public meetings were held in an attempt to formulate a public opinion which would bear on the action of the legislature. Even after the members of the assembly departed from Jefferson City, the opposing political groups continued in their labor for domination. Their endeavors were

⁴¹Jefferson City *Missouri State Times*, April 10, 1863.

⁴²Lexington *Weekly Union*, January 31, 1863.

⁴³Richmond *Northwest Conservator*, February 19, 1863.

⁴⁴Liberty *Tribune*, February 27, 1863.



Charles D. Drake

not always marked by fair dealings, and underhand methods were often pursued.

Fearful that the Radicals would be successful in their plans, Governor Gamble and his friends decided to convene the state convention for the fifth time while the Conservatives still held sway in a majority of the counties. The Democrats felt it would be better to adopt a system of gradual emancipation than to allow the Radicals to free the slaves immediately.

Gamble issued in April, 1863, a proclamation calling together the state convention, which was to meet on June 15 "to consult and act upon the subject of emancipation of slaves and such other matters as may be connected with the peace and prosperity of the State."³⁹ The districts were to hold elections and select representatives to the convention if their former representatives had died, resigned, or been expelled. Eleven new members were elected.

Colonel Switzler, in an editorial in the *Missouri Statesman*, said that now the question was to be faced, and there was no doubt but that the slaves would be emancipated. "The real practical question . . . will be, whether the radical and revolutionary folly of immediately liberating in our midst all the slaves in the State, or whether the less mischievous and therefore more statesmanlike and humane policy of gradual emancipation shall be adopted."⁴⁰ Another advocate of the gradual policy was Colonel James McFerran of Gallatin, who, as a delegate, believed "this action . . . will reflect the will of a large majority of the law abiding citizens of the District."⁴¹

These men were old-fashioned and did not understand the new language, according to the *St. Joseph Morning Herald*. It maintained:

Slavery is doomed; and those who talk of gradual emancipation, may as well understand at once, that the old-fashioned meaning of the term is totally inapplicable. No system of emancipation must be sufficiently gradual to legalize slavery long; after the people look upon it with contempt and abhorrence. Gradual emancipation now means rapid emancipation, and nothing else.⁴²

³⁹Leopard and Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, III, 630.

⁴⁰Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, June 12, 1863.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, June 12, 1863.

⁴²*St. Joseph Morning Herald*, June 11, 1863.

Drake was a candidate from St. Louis. The *Republican*, which had for some time written of him in derision, continued to lampoon the Radical convert. It told of how it had once defended Drake, despite his unpopularity socially and politically.⁴² Once abuse had been heaped upon his head by the *Democrat* and the German press, but now that he had changed parties, those journals praised him highly. Despite its opposition to Drake, the *Republican* on May 26 found it necessary to write an account of his overwhelming election by 4,878 votes to 1,806 for his opponent.

The Germans, the extremists of the Radical party, were dissatisfied with the course of events in Missouri. Seeking the aid of President Lincoln in their fight for immediate abolition, a group of them sent a petition to Washington in May, 1863. Lincoln's reply that the Union men in Missouri who were in favor of gradual emancipation represented his views better than those who favored immediate emancipation delighted the *Missouri Statesman*.⁴³ Calculated to weight the balance in their favor the Radicals saw the move boomerang, for Lincoln's statement seemed to have had great effect upon the action of the convention.

The delegates favoring the progressive system dominated the convention, for after a few days, a majority report was made proposing an ordinance which in effect would provide that slavery should cease July 4, 1876.⁴⁴ Slaves over forty were to remain with their masters for life; those twelve years old and under would serve until they were twenty-three; and those of all other ages would remain in servitude until July 4, 1876. The ordinance, as amended, changing the date of the end of slavery to July 4, 1870, was passed by a vote of 51-30, and the convention adjourned on July 1.

The slave problem was not settled, however, for the Radicals were by no means satisfied with the law, even though many of their delegates had voted for it at the convention. Although they favored "something better," they contended that

⁴²St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, May 13, 1863.

⁴³Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, June 12, 1863.

⁴⁴Missouri State Convention, *Journal of the Missouri State Convention Held in Jefferson City, June, 1863*, pp. 24, 39, 47. App. p. 135.

the ordinance was the best they could obtain at the "Conservative convention," and they apologized to their constituents. The voice of the Charcoal party, the *Democrat*, wished to apply their sincerity to a test. "If you were in favor of something better than the ordinance adopted when you were in the Convention, you will, of course, be in favor of and willing to work for something better now."⁴

The newspapers of the state soon identified themselves as opposed to, or supporting the new law. The *St. Louis Union* prepared in August a list of the weekly papers, numbering nineteen in favor of, and eight against the measure.⁵ The *Missouri State Times* begged to differ with the *Union*, claiming that twenty-eight papers in the state opposed the ordinance and favored immediate emancipation.⁶ It included in its list dailies, the German press, and a religious weekly.

Realizing that they needed more than newspaper support, the Radicals now launched what was probably one of the most vigorous political campaigns in Missouri history. A constant stream of propaganda was placed before the people in the Radical press. Speeches were made by the leaders of the party in every part of the state; mass meetings were held to win support for a new convention.

Drake, one of the most vituperative of the Charcoals, was requested to speak wherever Radical audiences congregated, and his fiery denunciation of all things Conservative pleased his listeners. In St. Joseph, he delivered a speech "to an enthusiastic audience." The meeting there adjourned with "nine cheers for the old flag and three for Drake."⁷

In the face of the "rising tide of Jacobinism," the Conservatives took steps to counteract it. They called meetings of their own, usually "to consider the state of the country, the ordinance of Emancipation, and to testify . . . endorsement of the administration of Gov. Gamble, and the conduct of our delegates to the Convention." In Columbia a meeting was held at which Senator John B. Henderson, W. P. Hall,

⁴St. Louis *Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat*, July 8, 1863.

⁵Reprinted in *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, August 14, 1863.

⁶*Jefferson City Missouri State Times*, September 26, 1863.

⁷St. Joseph *Morning Herald*, July 22, 1863.

James S. Rollins, Colonel Switzler and others addressed the audience.⁴⁸

Eventually the organized opposition to the ordinance and to the general policies of the government bore fruit in a call for a Radical state convention to meet in Jefferson City on September 1, 1863.

In Jefferson City, 417 delegates representing sixty-nine counties assembled and elected Judge Robert W. Wells of Jefferson City as president. The convention set forth its demands in a series of resolutions arraigning the provisional government, requesting the resignation of Governor Gamble and Lieutenant-Governor Hall, and demanding immediate emancipation. It demanded, also, that a new state convention be called by the legislature to pass measures to carry the foregoing into effect. A "committee of seventy" was appointed to lay before President Lincoln the grievances of the Missouri Radicals and "to procure a change in the governmental policy in reference to Missouri."⁴⁹ Their demands were, first, that a new convention be elected to rid the state of slavery immediately. Further demands were: that Gen. Schofield be removed from command of the military department, that regular army forces be substituted for the enrolled militia, and that the measures disfranchising all disloyalists be enforced at the coming election.

Although this committee was headed by Drake and several other St. Louisans, and called itself the "radical Union men of Missouri," it represented more than merely a local sentiment as evidenced by the enthusiastic ovations it received enroute to Washington and the demonstration in Cooper Institute, New York, when the committee visited that city after its conference with Lincoln. It was the voice of the radical anti-slavery element of the entire nation asking that the government come out in favor of the abolition of slavery in the border states without compensation, and the use of Negro troops against the Confederates. The critical nature of this issue, which the Missouri Radicals were presenting to Lincoln, was understood by him

⁴⁸Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, July 10, 1863.

⁴⁹Emancipation Convention, Missouri, *Proceedings of the Missouri State Radical Emancipation and Union Convention . . . Sept. 1st, 1863*. (From the *Missouri Democrat's* Special Report).

but he was not at the point of acceding to their demands at that time and the committee returned to Missouri having failed to accomplish its mission.

Seemingly undaunted by their apparently fruitless convention, the Radicals continued their campaign for power, holding mass meetings and agitating against the Missouri Emancipation Ordinance and the provisional government. Another test of their strength came in November when the election of judges of the circuit and supreme courts was held. The Radicals were defeated, but not by too great a margin, and in their defeat they claimed a triumph. Their ticket had been successful in St. Louis and St. Louis County, St. Joseph, Hannibal, and Jefferson City.⁸¹ No matter that this election was lost, for Missouri was becoming "Radicalized."

⁸¹St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, November 4, 1863.

THE MISSOURI READER AMERICANS IN THE VALLEY

PART III

EDITED BY RUBY MATSON ROBINS¹

American Immigration from 1796-1821

New Madrid District and County

New Madrid

NEW MADRID DISTRICT AND COUNTY²

The five Spanish Districts of St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid remained the political divisions of Missouri until 1812, when they were made counties. It was in these districts that the Americans settled in such numbers that by the end of 1820 there were twenty new counties added to and created out of the original five.

New Madrid, as well as the other districts, bordered on the Mississippi River and extended west to an indefinite boundary. The District of New Madrid until about 1795 included Cape Girardeau; after that time it was bounded north by Cape Girardeau and extended southward until 1804 to the mouth of the St. Francis River in Arkansas. On October 1, 1804, by proclamation of Governor Harrison of Indiana Territory, the southern boundary was extended to the 33 degree North Latitude. When the New Madrid District became a county in 1812, the western extent reached to the Osage boundary line, a line running from Fort Osage to the Arkansas River. In 1813 the southern extent of the New Madrid area was diminished by the establishment of Arkansas County.³ Lawrence County⁴ was created

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²Information on New Madrid District and County taken from Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians Land of Contrasts and People of Achievements* (Chicago, Lewis, 1943), I, 215-223.

³In 1819 Arkansas County was made the Territory of Arkansas.

⁴The present Lawrence County, Missouri, was erected in 1845.

EXPLANATION OF MAP OF THE FIRST FIVE COUNTIES OF MISSOURI,
1812, AND OF HOWARD COUNTY, 1816*

The west and north boundaries of St. Charles County and the south boundary of Cape Girardeau County were not clearly defined by Governor Howard's Proclamation of 1812. These boundaries as shown on the map were established by an act of the First Territorial General Assembly in 1813. Howard County was erected out of the Osage Purchase land defined by Governor William Clark in 1815. The area south of the Missouri River included in the boundaries of Howard County defined by the Act of 1816 was taken from St. Louis County with a small part from Ste. Genevieve County, and the area north of the river was a part of the land ceded by the Osage treaty of 1808 more clearly defined by the Proclamation of Governor Clark, March 9, 1815. It was attached to St. Charles County by that proclamation. The area shown on this map lying between Howard and St. Charles counties remained attached to St. Charles after Howard was created in 1816. The southern boundary of New Madrid District reaching to the mouth of the St. Francis River was extended by Governor Howard's Proclamation of 1812 to the 33 degree N. Latitude, the line of division, established by Act of Congress, March 26, 1804, between the District of Louisiana and the Territory of Orleans. The area of New Madrid County was reduced by an Act of the Territorial Legislature of Missouri of December 31, 1813.

*Map based on boundaries established by Governor Howard's Proclamation, October 1, 1812; Act of the First Territorial General Assembly, December 31, 1813; Proclamation by Governor Clark, March 9, 1815; and Act of the Third Territorial General Assembly, January 23, 1816, as summarized in Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, I, 217-221; and compared with manuscript maps prepared by the political science department of the University of Missouri, 1895-1898, in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri.



The Approximate Boundaries of the First Five Counties of Missouri as Described in 1812 and of Howard County as Described in 1816

out of New Madrid in 1815, and remained a division until 1818 when it was greatly reduced in size and lost its name by the creation of Wayne County out of Lawrence and Cape Girardeau.

By 1820 the New Madrid area contained two counties, Wayne and New Madrid, and the present western boundary line of the state became the western boundary of Wayne County. New Madrid County lay between Wayne and the Mississippi River and extended south to Arkansas Territory. The "jog" of Missouri into Arkansas was established in 1819 when Arkansas Territory was created.⁶ In the petition of the Missouri Territorial Legislature for statehood, adopted in 1818 and presented to Congress in 1819, the proposed southern boundary included the "jog" into Arkansas and a considerable area of Arkansas north of the White River, and from the mouth of the "Big Black River" east to the Mississippi. This proposed bite into Arkansas was reduced by Congress to the present heel counties.⁷

It is rather difficult to determine but probably twenty-nine counties have been created in whole or part from the area included in the original New Madrid County.⁷

The settlements in the New Madrid District before 1804 " . . . were all to be found in a rich alluvial plain . . . The only elevations in the [early settled part of the] district are Cayley's [Crowley's] Ridge and the Scott County 'hills,' low ridges of varying width from 5 to 19 miles from the northwestern highlands. This elevation had little importance in determining settlement during the Spanish Period. Much of the land to the eastward was poorly drained and subject to overflow. The marshy portion was covered with a thick growth of cane and timber, the dryer land was covered with open groves of large trees. While the soil was extremely fertile, the district was

⁶See the *Annals of Congress*, 15th Congress 2nd Session, 1819, II, 2502.

⁷Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood, 1804-1821* (Jefferson City, Hugh Stephens, 1916), pp. 60-61, 67.

⁸Following are the names of counties which fall in the area included in the original New Madrid County: Scott; Mississippi; New Madrid; Pemiscot; Dunklin; Stoddard; south tip Bollinger; south half Wayne; Butler; south tip Reynolds; Carter; Ripley; south half Shannon; Oregon; south strip Texas; Howell; south strip Wright; south strip Webster; south strip Greene; Christian; Douglas; Ozark; Taney; Stone; south half Lawrence; Barry; southeast tip Jasper; east strip Newton; east strip McDonald.

preeminently a game country. The settlements were determined in part by hunting and the Indian trade, and later after the coming of the American farmers, by the drainage and by . . . [river traffic]. In 1804 the settlements with one important exception were within a few miles of the Mississippi. This strip of settled country began just above the village of New Madrid and extended to Little Prairie, with an outlying trading station on the St. Francois, the present Portageville."⁹

The growth of population in the New Madrid District was not so rapid as that in the districts and counties to the north. In 1796 there were 499 persons reported living in the district, and by 1804 there were about 1,500 inhabitants including more than 150 slaves.* The population of New Madrid County in 1814 was reported as 1,548,¹⁰ and in 1821 the report was for New Madrid County 2,444, with Wayne County having a population of 1,614.¹¹

NEW MADRID

The first settlement at what became New Madrid had been made by the French about 1780,¹² when a trading post was established there, which, ". . . soon became one of the best trading points in the country west of the Mississippi, and the name of 'L'anse a la graisse' (the cove of fat) was bestowed upon it."¹³

It was through the activities of George Morgan that L'Anse a la Graisse became New Madrid in 1789, and became ". . . the first American city in the territory that now comprises Missouri. In all probability it was the first American city west of the Mississippi River."¹⁴

⁹Jonas Viles, "Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri before 1804," *Missouri Historical Review*, V (July, 1911), 191.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 195.

¹¹*Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, (St. Louis), July 2, 1814.

¹²*Missouri Gazette*, (St. Louis), January 23, 1822.

¹³See "The Missouri Reader, The French in The Valley," edited by Dorothy Penn, *Missouri Historical Review*, XL (January, 1946), 252-255.

¹⁴*History of Southeast Missouri* (Chicago, Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1888), p. 284.

¹⁵From a Sesquicentennial Address on New Madrid, by Floyd C. Shoemaker, reported in *The Weekly Record* (New Madrid, Missouri), October 20, 1939.

George Morgan,¹⁸ the founder of New Madrid, was a colonel in the Revolutionary War, an amateur scientist, and a scientific farmer. He was also styled "land speculator and Indian agent," and he became both when his merchandise firm undertook a venture in the Illinois country. The venture was a failure partly because of Indian depredations. To pay for these depredations the Six Nations made a land grant in what is now West Virginia to Morgan's firm, but the United States government prevented Morgan's claiming the grant. Later in an effort to retrieve his fortunes he established a land company in New Jersey and negotiated to buy land in the Illinois country. The government had satisfied Morgan's stipulations on all but one item in the contract for sale, but Morgan was undecided whether to buy or not. At this point Diego de Gardoqui, Spanish minister to the United States, heard about Morgan and, "... [He] determined to take advantage of the Colonel's vast influence by offering him a grant in Spanish Louisiana."¹⁹

The Spanish government was interested in having Americans settle in Louisiana, seeing in them a means of strengthening the king's holdings in North America. Also the Spanish policy of keeping the Mississippi closed to American shipping placed them in a position where they needed a well populated country to the west of the river to offset the American settlements to the east.

Colonel Morgan immediately indicated to the Spanish minister his willingness to begin a settlement on the Mississippi if certain conditions he considered necessary were accepted. Morgan proposed, among other things, that his colony was to have "... local self-government ... [and] complete freedom of religion. The city was to be established as a port of entry for the direct control of trade ... The advantages to the King of such a colony, Morgan believed, would be tremendous; with such a port as his city would be, Spain would be able to control

¹⁸Information on George Morgan taken from Max Savelle, *George Morgan Colony Builder* (New York, Columbia University, 1932). All excerpts reprinted by permission of the publisher, the Columbia University Press.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 203. By permission of Columbia University Press.

all the commerce of the lands lying west of the Allegheny Mountains."¹⁷

Cardoqui agreed to Morgan's conditions and he provisionally granted him land and authorized him to go to Louisiana to select and survey land for his city. Morgan at once entered upon the venture, issuing circulars describing his colony, and collecting a group of men to accompany him on his trip.

"Morgan's grant . . . lay between Cape Cinque Hommes [St. Como, Perry County] and the mouth of the St. Francis River . . . This huge tract of land, extending both north and south of the Ohio, extended back from the Mississippi two degrees of longitude, and contained some fifteen million acres."¹⁸

Morgan's colonizing venture created a great deal of interest in the United States. Some saw in Morgan's plan a break-up of the Union, while others, Jefferson among them, thought it would be "suicidal" for Spain to have a colony of self-governing Americans within her territory." General Harmar, commander of the United States Army stationed on the Ohio, was inclined to be sarcastic about the whole affair. He said, "The people are all taken up with Colonel Morgan's New Madrid . . . They are in my opinion Mad-rid indeed."¹⁹

"About seventy men, farmers, artisans, tradesmen and sons of Pennsylvania Germans, were selected by Morgan out of the many who applied for the privilege of accompanying him."²⁰ These men set out in the year 1789 for L'Anse a la Graisse, the spot chosen by Morgan for his city.

A letter written jointly by some of the men who accompanied Morgan describes what kind of city Colonel George Morgan was going to found: "The limits of our new city of Madrid are to extend four miles south down the river, and two miles west from it, so as to cross a beautiful deep lake, of the purest spring water, 100 yards wide, and several leagues in length north and south, and emptying itself by a constant narrow stream through the center of the city . . .

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 205. By permission of Columbia University Press.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 211. By permission of Columbia University Press.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 207-208. By permission of Columbia University Press.

²⁰*Ibid.*, quoted on p. 208. By permission of Columbia University Press.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 206. By permission of Columbia University Press.

"On each side of this delightful lake, streets are to be laid out 100 feet wide, and a road to be continued around it of the same breadth, and the trees are directed to be preserved for ever, for the health and pleasure of its citizens . . .

"Twelve acres in a central part of the city are to be [preserved] . . . and be ornamented, improved, and regulated by the magistracy of the city for public walks, and forty lots of half an acre each, are appropriated to such public use as the citizens shall recommend . . . and one lot of twelve acres is to be reserved for the king's use. One city lot of half an acre, and one lot of five acres, to be a very free gift to each 600 first settlers . . .

"We have built cabins, and a magazine for provisions, &c. and are proceeding to make gardens . . .

". . . a thousand farms are directed to be surveyed, which will soon be executed, for the immediate choice and settlement of all families who shall come here next fall . . .

"Not a single person of our whole party, consisting of seventy men, has been sick an hour . . . [and they] are in high spirits on the discovery of this happy clime and country . . ."²²

This letter signed by David Rankin and others appeared in the *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, August 27, 1789.

Estevan Miró, governor of Louisiana, thought the grants made to Morgan too liberal, and influenced by General James Wilkinson he set about reducing them. Miró was afraid of "The dangers . . . inherent in a self-governing colony enjoying complete religious freedom . . . Besides, he, Miró, could populate Louisiana by bringing in families of Americans through his own agents; why was it necessary to give away a vast part of the province to a man whose success was doubtful . . ."²³

Miró also resented Morgan's naming his colony New Madrid and referring to it as "our city." The "our" probably had an aggressive American ring to it. Morgan pointed out that

²²[David Rankin], *A Letter From New Madrid, 1789* ([Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1918]), reprinted from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, V (December, 1918), 343-6.

²³Saville, *George Morgan Colony Builder*, p. 220. By permission of Columbia University Press.

he had chosen the name New Madrid to honor the Spanish government, and the name was accepted.

Morgan and Miró came to an understanding of sorts. Miró "... issued Morgan two commissions, one empowering him to introduce settlers into Spanish territory, and the other appointing him a sort of vice-commandant of the settlement ... second to the military officer to be appointed commander of that post.

"He also gave Morgan a set of instructions to govern his work ... Land grants were to be gratis; no person would be molested in his religion ... They would be governed by the laws of the Spanish king ..."

About this time Morgan returned to Philadelphia, and at first he continued to carry on activities to advertise New Madrid, for on his return he published an eight-page folder describing the colony. "Suddenly, however, he lost interest in the venture; and it is impossible clearly to explain the reason."²⁵ Savelle mentions two events that may have influenced Morgan to give up the New Madrid colony. One of these was the death of his brother who left Morgan a considerable estate in Pennsylvania, and the other was the establishment of a new United States government under the Constitution. Morgan may have hoped to bring suit for the land granted him by the Six Nations.

Of the seventy men who followed Morgan, Savelle writes, "Practically all those who had come with Morgan ... returned to their homes; in the summer after the Colonel left, the river 'overflowed amazingly,' and many left in disgust. The place proved to be sickly, and the fort had to be moved to higher ground."²⁶

After Morgan's departure, "... Miró ordered Peyroux to New Madrid with a small police force of six soldiers to preserve order among the new settlers. While there he opened several roads for carts and wagons, made land grants, and called the settlers together to have them determine whether they desired to cultivate their land in separate fields or in a

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 226.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 227.

common-field, and these American settlers then decided in favor of separate fields, each farmer to fence his own land. Accordingly no common-field was established in New Madrid . . . Miró . . . dispatched Lieutenant Pierre Foucher . . . to New Madrid to build a fort and take civil and military command . . . His instructions were to govern the new colonists in such a way 'as to make them feel that they had found among the Spaniards the state of ease and comfort for which they were in quest.' ¹⁷⁸⁷

Foucher was visited in 1790 by Samuel Forman who was on his way to the Natchez country. Forman describes his visit: "The next day we arrived at *L'Anse a la Graisse*, which place, or adjoining it bears the name of New Madrid, which is the American part of the little village . . .

"Arrived at the gate, the guard was so anxious to trade his tame raccoon with our men that he scarcely took any notice of us . . . ¹⁷⁹⁰

The commandant was "so lonesome" that he prevailed on Samuel Forman and his party to stay for three days. During this time, ". . . there was a Spanish dance, all common people making up the company—French, Canadians, Spaniards, Americans. The belle of the room was Cherokee Katy, a beautiful little squaw, dressed in Spanish style, with a turban on her head, and decked off very handsomely."¹⁷⁹⁰

Morgan's publicity served to interest settlers in the Spanish land offers and, "In 1791 Foucher reports that 219 new settlers had presented themselves between the 1st of January to the end of April . . . ¹⁷⁹⁰

New Madrid prior to 1800 was "in no wise attached to Upper Louisiana," but was administered independently. Charles Dehault DeLassus, Commandant of New Madrid from 1796 to 1799, was made lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana in 1799, at which time New Madrid became attached to that administra-

¹⁷⁸⁷Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri* (Chicago, R. R. Donnelley, 1908), II, 125-126. Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.

¹⁷⁹⁰Samuel S. Forman, *Narrative of a Journey Down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1789-90* (Cincinnati, Clarke, 1888), pp. 47-48.

¹⁷⁹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁷⁹⁰Houck, *History of Missouri*, II, 126. Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.

tive unit." LaForge, syndic at New Madrid in 1796, wrote to DeLassus giving a report on conditions at his post: "At last, game in these parts becoming scarcer, the Indians removed themselves further off, and were seldom here; the traders knew very well where to find them, but the inhabitants waited for them in vain; then grease, suet, meat and peltries being no longer brought by the Indians, it was only a few resident hunters and the traders themselves who provisioned the village; the unfortunate habit of not working had gained the day, it was too difficult to overcome it, so great distress was often seen in the country . . . Three or four Americans at most, as far back as 1793, had risked the settlement of farms on large tracts of land. The Creoles undervalued them . . . and smoked their pipes quietly. They were, however, surprised to see that, with several cows, they had often not a drop of milk, while these three or four Americans gorged themselves with it, and sold them butter, cheese, eggs, chickens, etc.

" . . . several American families came to New Madrid; some of them placed themselves at once on farms, and like children our Creoles, from a state of jealousy, clamored against the Americans, whom they thought too wonderful. Jealousy stimulated them, and they would also place themselves on farms.

" . . . But for certain the Creoles will never make this a flourishing settlement, it will be the Americans, Germans and other active people who will reap the glory of it.

" . . . the Americans who obtained grants of land have nothing more at heart but to settle on them. . . ."

New Madrid was visited in 1800 by Samuel Mason, notorious frontier bandit, who applied for and was granted a passport. This passport is an example of the ease with which Americans were admitted to Spanish Louisiana:

"New Madrid, March 29th, 1800.

"Whereas Samuel Masson, Esqr. expressed a wish to settle in this District and wishes to arrange his business affairs, We . . . hereby grant permission to said Samuel Masson to pro-

²¹*Ibid.*, II, pp. 136-137. Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.

²²*History of Southeast Missouri*, pp. 293-296.

ceed to Natchez per boat, and on his return . . . may select a suitable place in this District for himself and family. He, Samuel Masson, having by oath attested his loyalty and fidelity to us, we pray that no hindrance be placed to his proposed journey.

"Henri Peyroux

"Approved and marked with the flourish of our signature."⁸²

Three years later Samuel Mason and his party on the run from the Americans showed up in Little Prairie where they aroused suspicion. At Little Prairie they " . . . had taken possession of an empty house belonging to an American citizen . . . rented a ten-acre tract from John Ruddell and bought a cow and sundry provisions. Among other things that aroused the suspicion of the neighborhood was the careful manner in which the house was guarded by the occupants."⁸³

The commandant at New Madrid, informed that probably the Mason gang was in Little Prairie, ordered the militia to bring the men in for trial, and by a trick the militia was able to effect a capture. After a trial which lasted seventeen days, the prisoners were sent to the higher court at New Orleans.⁸⁵

The commandant, " . . . ordered an itemized account of the cost of the trial, including the expenses incurred in making the arrest . . . and bringing the prisoners to New Madrid . . . The total expense is given as one thousand and fifty-three piasters or, about one thousand dollars."⁸⁶

⁸²Otto A. Rothert, *The Outlaws of Cave-In-Rock* (Cleveland, Clark, 1924), pp. 212-215. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Arthur H. Clark Company, from Otto A. Rothert's *The Outlaws of Cave-In-Rock*.

⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 210. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Arthur H. Clark Company, from Otto A. Rothert's *The Outlaws of Cave-In-Rock*.

⁸⁵The New Orleans court directed that Mason and his gang be turned over to the United States as their crimes had been committed there. Mason and his men escaped, and later two of the gang killed Mason for the reward. They brought his head to Natchez to prove Mason's death, but instead of a reward the men were proved to be bandits and were hanged. *Ibid.*, pp. 215-65. Reprinted by permission of the publisher, The Arthur H. Clark Company.

⁸⁶Rothert, *The Outlaws of Cave-In-Rock*, p. 239. Reprinted by permission of the publisher, The Arthur H. Clark Company.

After the Louisiana Purchase Don Juan La Vallée⁷⁷ surrendered the District of New Madrid to Captain Daniel Bissell who was commissioned to receive it by Amos Stoddard. La Vallée wrote of the incident to Marquis de Casa Calvo and Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo, commissaries of His Catholic Majesty: ". . . I surrendered the post in my command . . . In these negotiations, forty-five libras of powder have been used both in salutes and by the guards. The same day, I made, by means of experts, the valuation of the King's buildings . . ."⁷⁸

"I believe that I ought to inform your lordships that this change has caused the greatest anger among these habitants who live here, and especially on the day of the surrender, during the ceremonies of which they expressed the greatest grief."⁷⁹

The flourish that marked the transfer at New Madrid was unique. Houck says that, "No particular ceremony seems to have marked the transfer of the other settlements and posts . . ."⁸⁰

Amos Stoddard describes the New Madrid District in 1804; "The population of this tract [New Madrid plus Arkansas] in 1804 was estimated at one thousand three hundred and fifty, including one hundred and fifty slaves . . . About two thirds of the population is composed of English Americans; the other third of French. It is believed, that the population of this tract has not much increased in several years. For three years, commencing in 1800, the increase was only six persons. About New Madrid, and below it, the population evidently diminishes; while it increases more to the north . . ."⁸¹

⁷⁷Although France was in possession of Louisiana, she had never actually taken control and the Spanish officers still governed the country. See "The Missouri Reader, The Louisiana Purchase," edited by Alice La Force, *Missouri Historical Review*, XLII (January, 1948), 157-8.

⁷⁸The "King's buildings" consisted of a church, a parochial house, and a bake house; total worth 1,870 pesos. (See Louis Houck, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, II, 331, 339-340.) Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.

⁷⁹Louis Houck, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri* (Chicago, R. R. Donnelley, 1909), II, 363. Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.

⁸⁰Houck, *History of Missouri*, II, 363. Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.

⁸¹Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, M. Carey, 1812), p. 211.

Thomas Ashe, English traveler, wrote of what he saw in Missouri, but his descriptions according to Bradbury, English traveler and naturalist, are often unfavorable and exaggerated.⁴² Ashe, writing in 1806, describes New Madrid in a most unfavorable light: "This town . . . contains about forty log and frame houses, a prison, and a church . . .

"I must give you an unfavorable account of the inhabitants. A stupid insensibility makes the foundation of their character. Averse to labor, indifferent to any motive of honor, occupied by mean associations without solicitude for the future, and incapable of foresight and reflection . . . They are composed of the dregs of Kentucky, France, and Spain, and subsist by hunting and trading with the Indians . . . Gardens succeed well: there are several about the town, and some peach orchards of great promise."⁴³

Christian Schultz, German traveler, covered the same territory in 1807 to 1808 that Ashe had been over. Schultz gives as one reason for publishing his travels a desire to correct, "the mistakes, misrepresentations, and fictions," written by Ashe. The Schultz description is hardly more favorable than the one by Ashe.

"This town, which formerly, under the Spanish government, was protected by a fort and garrison, contains at present no more than thirty indifferent houses, including the chapel, which is fast tumbling to pieces."⁴⁴

"They begin to raise considerable crops of cotton at New Madrid, but it always bears the lowest price, as its quality is much injured by the early frosts . . . They raise corn and meat

⁴²See John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810 and 1811; Including a Description of Upper Louisiana Together with the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Tennessee, with the Illinois and Western Territories, and Containing Remarks and Observations Useful to Persons Emigrating to Those Countries* (London, Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1819), p. 160.

⁴³Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America Performed in 1806, for the Purpose of Exploring the Rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio, and Mississippi, and Ascertaining the Produce and Conditions of Their Banks and Vicinity* (Newburyport, W. Sawyer, 1808), pp. 295-296.

⁴⁴Christian Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage Through the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and Through the Territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi and New Orleans, Performed in the Years 1807 and 1808: Including a Tour of Nearly Six Thousand Miles* (New York, Riley, 1810), II, 103.

for their own consumption, but never have any to sell. On the contrary, we were repeatedly solicited by them to spare a part of our stores. Land is worth two dollars an acre exclusive of improvements . . . What few inhabitants there are seem to have very little intercourse with each other. The men mostly follow boating, and the women, during their absence, make out to raise a little corn to keep themselves alive until the return of their husbands, when they eat, drink and dance as long as their money lasts . . ."¹⁸

Fortescue Cuming, traveler and author, purchased land in Ohio and made a tour of the west from 1807 to 1809. He describes New Madrid as a town which, ". . . contains about a hundred houses, much scattered on a fine plain of two miles square, on which however the river has so encroached during the twenty-two years since it was first settled, that the bank is now half a mile behind its old bonds . . . They [the inhabitants] are a mixture of French Creoles from Illinois, United States Americans, and Germans. They have plenty of cattle, but seem in other respects to be very poor. There is some trade with the Indians . . . but of little consequence. Dry goods and groceries are enormously high, and the inhabitants charge travellers immensely for any common necessities . . . There is a militia, the officers of which wear cockades . . . as a mark of distinction, although the rest of their dress should be only a dirty ragged hunting shirt . . . There is a church going to decay and no preacher, and there are courts of common pleas and quarter sessions . . ."¹⁹

Brackenridge describes the District of New Madrid as it was in 1811: "The district of New Madrid is but thinly inhabited, considering the great proportion of fine land, which it contains. There are some good farms in the neighbourhood of the village. There are also some settlements on the St. Francis, on the banks of the Mississippi, and through the prairie toward Cape Girar-

¹⁸Ibid., II, 105.

¹⁹Fortescue Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country Through the States of Ohio and Kentucky; a Voyage Down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and a Trip Through the Mississippi Territory, and Part of West Florida. Commenced at Philadelphia in the Winter of 1807, and Concluded in 1809* (Pittsburg, Cramer, Spear, and Elchbaum, 1810), pp. 255-256.

deau: particularly on the public road. I travelled over it when it was a wilderness; the contrast even now, is pleasing: some one who passes here at a future day, will find still greater cause of wonder."⁴¹

"There is not much business done at this place; two or three mercantile stores are established, but not extensively; yet I should think this, a situation extremely eligible for a person of enterprise.

"New Madrid is considered healthy, and from my own experience, I am convinced of the justice of this character. There is nothing more delightful than a promenade in a summer evening, on the smooth green along the bank. The climate is mild and agreeable . . . New Madrid deserves to be noted for having the first gardens [public?] in the territory."⁴²

In 1816 Flint writes of the many boats that stopped at New Madrid, though it does not seem to have been a flourishing port at that time. It seems the boats tied up at New Madrid for a rest period before going down the river to New Orleans.

"In the spring, one hundred boats have been numbered, that landed in one day at the mouth of the Bayan, at New Madrid . . . You can name no point from the numerous rivers of the Ohio and the Mississippi, from which some of these boats have not come. In one place there are boats loaded with planks, from the pine forests . . . of New York. In another quarter there are the Yankee notions of Ohio. From Kentucky, pork, flour, whiskey, hemp . . . From Missouri and Illinois cattle and horses . . . together with peltry and lead from Missouri . . . The [boat] hands travel about from boat to boat, make inquiries . . . and form alliances . . . After an hour or two passed in this way they spring ashore to raise the wind in town . . . About midnight the uproar is all hushed. The fleet unites once more at Natchez or New Orleans . . ."⁴³

⁴¹Henri M. Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana; Together with a Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River in 1811* (Pittsburg, Cramer, Spear, and Eichbaum, 1814), pp. 115-116.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁴³Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years, Passed in Occasional Residences and Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi* (Boston, Cummings, Hilliard, and Company, 1826), pp. 103-104.

"While I was at New Madrid, [1819], a large tinner's establishment floated there in a boat. In it all the different articles of tinware were manufactured and sold by wholesale and retail . . . I have frequently seen in this region a dry goods shop in a boat, with its articles very handsomely arranged on shelves."¹⁰⁰

Flint writes in 1819 that New Madrid had not had a flourishing history. "The settlement had almost expired, had been resuscitated, and had again exhibited symptoms of languishment, a number of times. But up to the melancholy period of the earthquakes, it had advanced with the slow but certain progress of every thing that feels the influence of American laws and habits."¹⁰¹

Thomas Nuttall traveled through Missouri in 1819 and described New Madrid as, ". . . an insignificant French hamlet, containing little more than about twenty log houses and stores miserably supplied, the goods of which are retailed at exorbitant prices: for example, 18 cents per pound for lead, which costs seven cents at Herculaneum; salt five dollars per bushel . . . whiskey one dollar 25 cents per gallon . . ."¹⁰²

There was some trouble with the Indians at New Madrid as late as 1820. A letter published in the *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser*, 1820, describes this fracas:

"Winchester, New Madrid County, April, 17, 1820

"The militia are ordered out en masse, to go to New Madrid; there is likely to be some serious difficulty with a band of the Shawnee Indians, at that place. On Friday last, a Mr. Davis from Tennessee, and a Mr. Chandler were attacked by the Indians; Davis was killed, butchered, and scalped; Chandler was mortally wounded; the whites from the neighborhood went in pursuit of the murderers, and although one was shot and slightly wounded, they made their escape; they however succeeded in catching three of the party who were not immediately concerned in the murder, and brought them into town [New Madrid] where they are now under a strong guard; three others

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, pp. 221-222.

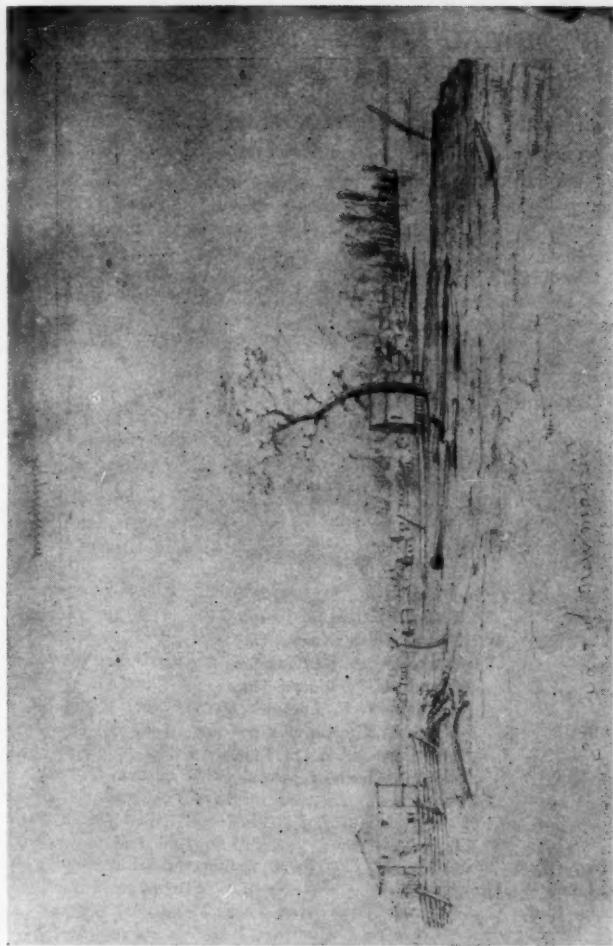
¹⁰²Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory, During the Year 1819, with Occasional Observations on the Manners of the Aborigines* (Philadelphia, Palmer, 1821), p. 46.

afterwards came in and held a counsel with those confined; one of them seems to be the principal chief of the land. It was agreed by them that the two murderers should be delivered up in four days, and the three prisoners should remain under guard until the promise was complied with—It is since ascertained that they only wanted time to collect their whole party, which consists of between one and two hundred, then it is their intention to come in and take their companions without ceremony.

[signed] Herald."¹⁸

¹⁸*Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser* (St. Louis), May 3, 1820.

(TO BE CONTINUED)



E. H. PART OF NEW MADRID.

Sketched by Charles Alexander Lesueur during a trip to Missouri in 1826. This sketch was photographed in 1938 by Charles E. Peterson, regional architect with the National Park Service.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS**MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP**

During the three months from November, 1950, through January, 1951, the following members of the Society increased its membership as indicated :

SIX NEW MEMBERS

Hallock, E. O., Kansas City
Kelly, C. T., St. Louis

FOUR NEW MEMBERS

Golladay, Mrs. J. E., Otterville

THREE NEW MEMBERS

Crabbs, Leo B., Jr., Columbia
Gross, G. Erwin, Pacific
Meriwether, Charles L., Jr., Louisiana

TWO NEW MEMBERS

Bear, J. L., St. Joseph
Boder, Bartlett, St. Joseph
Burton, Cecile, Kansas City
Cleaveland, A. B., Kingston
Marquis, G. C., Independence
Moore, L. F., Laclede
Myers, A. E., Kansas City
Stumpf, Russell H., St. Louis
Woods, Charles L., Rolla

ONE NEW MEMBER

Armstrong, W. S., Shamrock	Conger, Arthur, Jr., Harrisonville
Bagby, James W., University City	Gifford, B. F., St. Joseph
Bankhead, Kattie C., Clarksville	Givens, Oma, Mexico
Billings, Mrs. Marianne, Columbia	Hammon, John W., Springfield
Birbeck, Robert, Stanberry	Hancock, W. Scott, St. Louis
Bock, Lux H., St. Louis	Hash, James Y., North Kansas City
Brown, J. Warner, Kansas City	Hayward, Edgar M., Jefferson City
Cargill, Ray L., Kansas City	Hickman, Thomas S., Wellsville

Honig, L. O., Kansas City
 Hudson, C. A., Phoenix, Arizona
 Hunter, Mrs. S. L., New Madrid
 Jameson, B. H., Mexico
 Johnson, Waldo P., Jefferson City
 Jones, Mrs. Ray D., Kansas City
 Karsch, Albert, Farmington
 McMaster, Taylor R., Rockaway Beach
 McReynolds, Allen, Carthage
 Miller, Joseph C., Webster Groves
 Moll, Justus R., Washington, D.C.
 Moncrief, Adiel, Jr., St. Joseph
 Moore, George H., St. Louis
 Motley, Mrs. Robert L., Bowling Green
 Noah, W. L., Webster Groves

Okenfuss, Vera, Ste. Genevieve
 Robertson, Mrs. J. Guy, Mission, Kansas
 Selleck, Mrs. Bessie J., Richmond, Calif.
 Simpson, Morris B., Kansas City
 Thompson, Mrs. J. Frank, Columbia
 Thomson, R. M., St. Charles
 Todd, James, Moberly
 Tomsen, Mrs. Mary M., Berkeley, Calif.
 Tootle, Harry K., Newton, Conn.
 Tuttle, Karl W., Fulton
 West, H. K., Brookfield
 Wright, Charles L., St. Louis

NEW MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

One hundred and thirty-nine applications for membership were received by the Society during the three months from November, 1950, through January, 1951, inclusive. The total annual membership as of January 31, 1951, was 5225.

The new members are:

Algermissen, S. C., Montgomery City
 Anderson, L. E., Phoenix, Arizona
 Anderson, Mrs. Lyla T., San Francisco, Calif.
 Asplin, Isaac, Bourbon
 Asplin, William, Sullivan
 Ava Public Library, Ava
 Backer, Mrs. B. E., Louisiana
 Bailey, Mrs. A. T., Kirksville
 Bamford, Lain, Hickman Mills
 Bartow, Russell, Kansas City
 Bass, Mrs. George A., St. Louis
 Bass, Mrs. Rowland, Steelville
 Bassett, William H., Laclede
 Blevins, J. E., Faucett
 Boder, Mrs. Bartlett, St. Joseph
 Burford, Mrs. W. L., Otterville
 Burruss, Sewell, Grand Pass
 Burwell, H. L., Wellsville

Bushnell, Sam. C., St. Charles
 Butterfield, Harold, Jr., Sumner
 Cherry, Roy H., Jefferson City
 Clower, Mrs. E. Leas, Kansas City
 Cowan, Mr. and Mrs. J. R., Kansas City
 Crabbs, Mrs. Mary-Scott, Kansas City
 Day, Anthony B., Clayton
 Dempsey, T. A., Potosi
 Denny, F. M., Jamesport
 Dickson, Carolyn, Milan
 Eubank, C. N., Kansas City
 Eversole, Edward T., Festus
 Fatchett, Mary, Potosi
 Flynn, William B., St. Louis
 Forrest, Temple, Harrisonville
 Frazer, Robert R., St. Louis
 Golladay, Mrs. J. E., Otterville
 Garrett, Mrs. Cleo, Steele

- Glazebrook, Mr. & Mrs. Harry,
Wheatland
- Grebe, Frank, North Kansas City
- Gross, Mrs. E. W., Pacific
- Gross, Mrs. G. Erwin, Pacific
- Gross, Mrs. W. C., St. Louis
- Guengerich, Mrs. H. W., Louisiana
- Hader, H. Townsend, Lexington
- Halbut, Mrs. Dot R., Weaubleau
- Hamacher, Mrs. Elmer, Phoenix-
ville, Penn.
- Hamilton, Paul E., Clarksville
- Hamlin, Herb S., San Francisco,
Calif.
- Hammers, Clyde C., Kansas City
- Harlin, H. T., Gainesville
- Hayward, Albert C., Springfield
- Heiser, Mrs. Lela, Kingston
- Hilix, Mr. and Mrs. C. Nelson, St.
Joseph
- Hill, G. E., Tulsa, Oklahoma
- Hollett, Charles L., Princeton
- Holman, Lawrence, Moberly
- Holt, Ivan Lee, Jr., St. Louis
- Huber, Fred R., Jefferson City
- Hull, James P., Faucett
- Humphrey, Mrs. Mattie, Polo
- Jeter, Jesse F., Charleston, Ill.
- Jinkens, Mrs. Nannie, Hermitage
- Johnson, Euin P., Clinton
- Jones, Ruth, Jefferson City
- Kennedy, Daniel, Rolla
- King, Laura, Stephenville, Texas
- Kircher, Mrs. T. E., Belleville, Ill.
- Kline, Mrs. J. R., Bourbon
- Lankford, J. C., Enid, Oklahoma
- Lawless, Mr. and Mrs. Ray M.,
Kansas City
- Lewis, George, St. Joseph
- Light, W. W., West Plains
- Lincoln School Library, Springfield
- Lynn, Arthur D., Kansas City
- McFarland, Mrs. J. H., West
Plains
- McLachlan, Mr. and Mrs. R. L.,
Columbia
- McRaven, Thomas C., Glencoe
- Massey, Oval, Fort Worth, Texas
- Massie, Gerald R., Jefferson City
- Mayfield, Mrs. D. B., Otterville
- Moore, Catherine R., Palmyra
- Moore, L. G., Lincoln, Nebraska
- Moore, Lowell E., St. Louis
- Morthland, Grant H., Weirsdale,
Florida
- Moss, Preston L., Kansas City
- Murray, Mrs. R. J., Otterville
- Myers, John L., Mission, Kansas
- Myers, Wilson A., Kansas City
- Maxera, Fred, III, Louisiana
- Neville, Mrs. E. M., Kansas City
- Newey, Don C., St. Joseph
- O'Connor, Margaret B., St. Louis
- Odneal, Wade H., Butler
- Otto, Mrs. Carl, Creve Coeur
- Overholt, Charles E., West Plains
- Owsley, W. L., Jr., Palmyra
- Palumbo, N. Eugene, Columbia
- Parsons, J. H., Bloomington, Ill.
- Pepper, Henry C., Marshall
- Potter, Byron, Cainsville
- Power, Sarah, Princeton
- Railey, James A., Kansas City
- Rasmuson, R. E., Rolla
- Ray County Library, Richmond
- Reis, David F., St. Louis
- Rogers, Mrs. Ed C., St. Louis
County
- Rutherford, Mrs. Paul, Chicago,
Illinois
- St. Joseph Museum, St. Joseph
- Schaefer, Mrs. Ruth, Washington,
D. C.
- Schoep, G. C., Norfolk, Nebraska
- Schult, L. H., Caruthersville
- Seifert, Mrs. Herbert A., Sedalia
- Sharp, Louis J., Silver Springs,
Md.
- Shelbina Public Schools, Shelbina
- Simpson, E. W., Milan
- Stiegemeier, Fred L., Foristell
- Stille, Mary Ruth, Unionville
- Stindel, C. E., St. Louis
- Sweat, Mrs. Ora V., Stanberry

Terrill, Mrs. John W., Belle	West, C. O., New Cambria
Tetley, Mrs. Sam J., Farmington	Williams, F. E., St. Louis
Texas County Library, Houston	Williams, Irvin, Sumner
Thompson, A. C., Anabel	Williams, Mrs. Lois, Kansas City
Tower, Roy A., LaGrange, Illinois	Wilson, Mrs. Walter R., Sanger,
Trenton Junior College, Trenton	Texas
Trower, Joe, Bellflower	Winterhoff, W. J., Tucson, Arizona
Vaughan, Mrs. William, Louisiana	Witherspoon, A. L., Wichita, Kan-
Waeckerle, Herbert H., St. Louis	sas
Wahlgren, Harry F., Webster	Withrow, Charles M., Tarkio
Groves	Wolf, Olin, Forsyth
Walsh, Ray, Gravois Mills	Wynne, Forrest F., St. Joseph

MISSOURI CITIES HIGHEST IN MEMBERSHIP IN
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI
ON JANUARY 1, 1951

The April, 1950, issue of the *Missouri Historical Review* carried a list of the cities in Missouri highest in membership on January 1, 1950. This year it was found that the changes were so slight that a summary of the results is sufficient.

First of all, there seems to be a wider diffusion of membership throughout the state. Seventeen cities not on last year's list have "made the grade" with seven members or more. Five towns on the 1950 list, by losing a total of nine members, failed to hold their membership at seven or more. It is very encouraging to be able to welcome the cities of Braymer, Centralia, Clarksville, Gallatin, Greenfield, Hayti, Laclede, Maplewood, Montgomery City, Mound City, Otterville, Palmyra, Perry, Shelbyna, Stockton, Troy, and Warrenton to those "cities highest in membership."

Another fact brought out is that fifty-three cities on the 1951 list have gained in membership, thirteen have kept their membership the same, and fifty-four have lost members.

A last item worthy of note is the large number of new members which has been added to the Society through the efforts of interested individuals. Looking back through the *Reviews* of the past year and including the present issue, the following people were found to have brought in a substantial number of members: Clyde P. Dyer of Webster Groves, 27; Harry L. Suttle of Springfield, 20; W. L. Noah of Webster

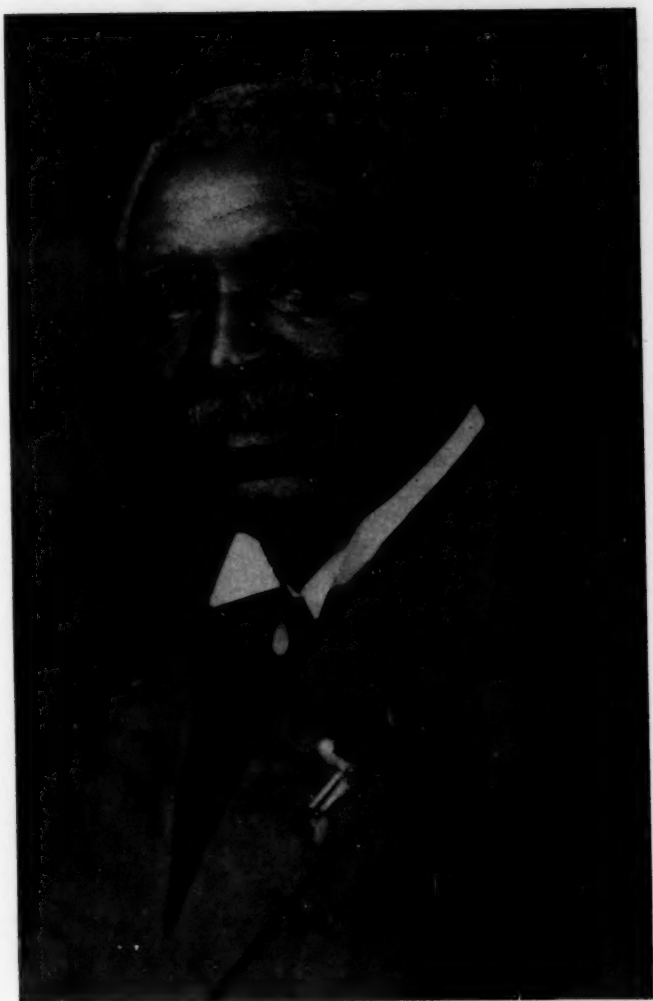
Groves, 15; K. A. Kloos of Hannibal, Mrs. Floyd C. Shoemaker of Columbia and Mrs. R. L. Motley of Bowling Green, each 8; R. L. Rinehart of Kirksville and Mrs. Lerton V. Dawson of Excelsior Springs, each 7; E. O. Hallock of Kansas City, C. T. Kelly of St. Louis, and L. F. Moore of Laclede, each 6; Eva Ann Bradford of Lake Springs, W. R. Gilbert of St. Louis, C. R. Macdonnell of Marshfield, and D. M. Warren of Panhandle, Tex., each 5; and Mrs. J. E. Golladay of Otterville, Waldo P. Johnson of Jefferson City, P. M. Robinett of Washington, D. C., and Jerome Walsh of Kansas City, each 4.

NATIONAL MONUMENTS, MEMORIALS, AND CEMETERIES
IN MISSOURI

The George Washington Carver National Monument near Diamond, Missouri, will be the only national monument in Missouri when the land for it is acquired and turned over to the Federal government for administration by the National Park Service. At the present time it is an "authorized project," according to a letter dated February 1, from the National Park Service.

On July 14, 1943, Congress passed Public Law 148 which authorized "the Secretary of the Interior . . . to acquire, on behalf of the United States, . . . the site of the birthplace of George Washington Carver, together with such additional land . . . as the Secretary may deem necessary, located near Diamond, Missouri." The law made this property a national monument and authorized the appropriation of \$30,000 to carry out the provisions of the act. On September 9, 1950, this law was amended by Public Law 780, increasing the authorized appropriation to \$150,000.

The only memorial area administered by the National Park Service in the State of Missouri is the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis. This national historic site and memorial was established under Executive Order of December 21, 1935, and occupies an area of 82½ acres on the west bank of the Mississippi River. Its principal features are three



George Washington Carver

—Courtesy of the George Washington Carver Foundation, Inc.

historic buildings: the Old Courthouse, the Rock House, and the Old Cathedral.

Missouri is also the site of three national cemeteries administered by the quartermaster general, Department of the Army:

Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery located near St. Louis, was established in 1863 although it had been used as a post burial ground as early as 1827. Containing approximately 200 acres, its total interments number 25,500 and include those of every war in which the United States has engaged since 1863. More than 13,000 Civil War soldiers are buried there and 4,000 World War II dead, returned under the Repatriation Program.

Jefferson City National Cemetery comprises approximately two acres of land within the city limits which were sold to the government by Israel B. Read and his wife in 1867. Burials, which were made here as early as 1861, now number over 1,000, including those from the Centralia Massacre and 75 World War II dead.

The Springfield National Cemetery is situated in Greene County $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the city limits of Springfield. Originally containing only five acres of land purchased from the city in 1867, the cemetery was enlarged by the addition of six acres deeded to the United States by the Confederate Cemetery Association and accepted as part of the cemetery by act of Congress in 1911. Over 500 Confederates are buried in this section. By 1874 the remains of 1,514 Union soldiers, who fell in Civil War battles in Missouri, were interred here. Today, there are 3,600 interments with approximately 200 being World War II dead.

SOCIETY ACQUIRES TRIGG COLLECTION

George A. Trigg of Elizabethtown, Ky., one of the six living founders of the State Historical Society of Missouri, has given to the Society a valuable collection of mementoes which belonged to his father, George W. Trigg of Richmond, Missouri.

George W. Trigg was born in Ray County, Missouri, in 1846, studied law in the office of Doniphan and Garner, served as county clerk of Ray County, 1878-1886, and was elected a member of the Thirty-seventh General Assembly in 1892. In the meantime, 1886, he had purchased the *Richmond Conservator* and had become prominent in the Missouri Press Association. He was president of the association in 1898 when the State Historical Society was conceived and both he and his son, George A., were present at the meeting in Eureka Springs, Arkansas, at which the Society came into being.

One of the most interesting items in the collection is a scrap book, started in 1881 and continued through the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, 1904. Other items are press association badges, certificates of membership, tickets for association excursions, pictures, and programs of meetings. Much of the material is valuable to the State Historical Society on account of its association with the Missouri Press Association, the Eureka Springs meeting in 1898, and the Triggs themselves.

SIMMONS DIARY A GIFT TO SOCIETY

The Society has recently acquired, as a gift from Miss Grace Stringfellow of Princeton, N. J., formerly of St. Joseph, Mo., the original diary of her great-uncle, Joseph R. Simmons, which he kept on his way to the gold mines of California in 1849-50. The diary is of unusual value because it chronicles a journey by the southern route which was not favored by Missourians so much as the northern route. It is of interest, too, as the story of the journey of one of Missouri's ex-governors, John C. Edwards, to California. Another ex-governor, Lilburn W. Boggs, had also settled in California by this time.

Leaving Jefferson City on April 20, 1849, in company with thirty-two men including former governor Edwards who was his uncle, Simmons arrived at Westport April 29, and after a delay of a month started out on the Santa Fe Trail to Las Vegas, N. Mex. From there they followed the Rio Grande for a distance, turned west to Tuscon, the Gila, the Colorado

River, and finally Los Angeles, which they reached on January 13, 1850. The diary ends February 28 when they are within a mile and a half of the Mariposa mines.

GREATEST IN THEIR LINES

Jesse James returned to Missouri, if only in picture form, on Tuesday, January 15, when a pre-premier of the latest film on his life, "The Great Missouri Raid," was shown aboard a Missouri Pacific train on its way from Kansas City to St. Louis, where the film was to be presented to the public for the first time. Two of the forty screen stars aboard were Missouri-born, Ellen Drew of Kansas City and Edgar Buchanan of Humansville.

This film makes at least eight which have been produced on the life of the James boys since 1927. Homer Croy in his book, *Jesse James Was My Neighbor*, p. 298, gives a list of six of these films and a letter from John del Valle, publicity director for the Nat Holt Picture Corporation, informs us of a seventh, the Lippert production, "I Killed Jesse James." A little research in the State Historical Society's catalog of books also revealed the fact that it contains some forty volumes on the James boys which even topped the number on Mark Twain, thirty-seven, or Daniel Boone, twenty-two.

In this connection, one is reminded of a story from the book *Mark Twain and I*, by Opie Read, copyright 1940 by The Reilly & Lee Co., Chicago. (Reprinted by permission of The Reilly & Lee Co.) "The subject of greatness was being discussed as a party of us grouped around Mark Twain in a Louisville hotel lobby.

"Greatness may be classed as the ability to win recognition," said the famous humorist. "Some time ago I was making a purchase in a small town store in Missouri. A man walked in and, seeing me, came over with outstretched hand and said, 'You're Mark Twain, ain't you?'

"I nodded.

"'Guess you and I are 'bout the greatest in our line," he marked. To this I couldn't nod, but I began to wonder as to what throne of greatness he held.

"'What is your name?' I inquired.

"'Jesse James,' he replied, gathering up this packages."

ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Boonslick Historical Society met November 29 at the Methodist Church in Glasgow to hear Mrs. Robert H. Carson speak on Walt Whitman's visit to Missouri in 1879. The annual dinner meeting of the society for the election of officers was announced for February 23 at the Hotel Frederick in Boonville. Lieutenant-governor James T. Blair, Jr. was to be the speaker of the evening.

The Clay County Historical Society has acquired two new items for its Little Museum; a daguerreotype of Laura March McConn, one of the charter members of the society, taken in her early girlhood; and a handsome tortoise-shell comb which belonged to a great-aunt of Mrs. McConn.

Mrs. Robert S. Withers, curator of the museum, has suggested that other local families consider placing their precious heirlooms in the museum where the public may enjoy them.

The Cole County Historical Society met January 16 in the Missouri Hotel, Jefferson City. Brief talks were given by Governor Forrest Smith, who commended the State Historical Society and the *Review* and advocated the teaching of Missouri history in the public schools, and Floyd C. Shoemaker, who summarized the work of the Cole County Historical Society in having the largest membership and the first home owned by a county historical society in Missouri. Mrs. John W. Hobbs announced the gift of \$1,000 from Blevins Davis of Independence for the purpose of employing a part-time hostess at the museum and of purchasing supplies.

Officers were then elected for the coming year: Mrs. Henry Guhleman, president; Dan W. Snyder, Jr., first vice-

president; Mrs. Emmett P. North, second vice-president; Mrs. Catherine Hope, secretary; William L. Hager, treasurer; and Henry Andrae, director.

Phelps County Historical Society held its 13th annual banquet at the Presbyterian Church in Rolla on December 4. Tribute was paid to B. H. Rucker, former president of the society, by the Rev. O. V. Jackson, and five-minute reports on the history of Phelps County during the past year were given by R. E. Breuer for Newburg, Dr. E. S. Ousley for St. James, Mrs. Lawrence E. May for Rolla, and Barney Miller for county-wide activities. Charles van Ravenswaay, director of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, spoke on architecture and furniture styles of early Missouri homes.

Officers were elected as follows: Luther Martin of Rolla, president; William Pinson of St. James, vice-president; Mrs. Augusta Bolon of Rolla, membership and general secretary; C. V. Mann of Rolla, historian; and Mrs. Mayme Ousley of St. James, treasurer.

A special committee of the St. Joseph Historical Society at a meeting on November 20, 1950, accepted the report of a subcommittee which recommended the site for a bronze statue of Joseph Robidoux as the circle in front of the lagoon at the entrance to Krug park. The statue under consideration as a project of the society is to be in Robidoux' well-known pose, seated in a chair and holding a cane. Bartlett Boder, as president of the society, was instructed by the special committee to present the report to the entire membership at its next meeting. When the society met on February 13, Bob Daughters, St. Joseph sculptor, presented a model he had designed of the proposed statue. A letter from Floyd C. Shoemaker was read by Mrs. Julia Woodson Edman concerning plaques which the local society plans to erect at the site of several historical landmarks.

ANNIVERSARIES

Five counties in Missouri will be 100 years old sometime during 1951. Dent and Stone counties were organized on February 10, 1851, Vernon on February 17, Pemiscot on February 19, and Bollinger on March 1.

Christian College, at Columbia, the first institution of college rank for women chartered in Missouri, observed its 100th anniversary with a celebration on January 18, at which delegates from approximately 140 colleges, universities, and learned societies were present.

Hartley G. Banks presided at the program in the morning at which greetings to the college were extended by Frederick A. Middlebush in behalf of the institutions of higher education in Missouri; by W. Roy Sappington for the City of Columbia; and by Governor Forrest Smith for the state of Missouri. After short addresses of welcome by Doris Gray for the student body and Mrs. Portia Stapel for the alumnae, Senator James W. Fulbright of Arkansas was introduced by James C. Miller, president of Christian College, and spoke on "The United States in World Affairs." The Reverend Clarence E. Lemmon presided at the charter day centennial luncheon at noon at which a number of brief remarks were made. A reception for delegates and guests was held in the afternoon.

Compass Lodge, No. 120, A.F. & A.M., of Parkville, celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1950. Established May 10, 1850, the lodge charter was lost during the Civil War but was restored on October 21, 1867.

The Carrollton Daily Democrat celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary with the publication of a fourteen-page anniversary edition, November 17. The paper gave special recognition to the "75'ers"—Carrollton residents who had lived in the community that long—and printed two "new" stories of particular interest on the Meeks murder of 1896 and General James Shields.

George Washington Carver day, an annual event honoring the great Negro scientist who was born near Diamond, Missouri, was celebrated January 5. Following a luncheon in Joplin and a parade of Negro bands from Jefferson City and Springfield, Missouri, and Coffeyville, Kansas, a motor caravan formed for the trip to the Carver birthplace near Diamond where ceremonies were held at 4 o'clock. A dinner and program at the Diamond high school in the evening, under the direction of the Rev. E. E. York, completed the observance. Speakers were: S. J. Phillips of Washington's Birthplace, Va., president of the George Washington Carver Monument Foundation; and Harry O. Abbott of Chicago, newspaper and news syndicate editor.

NOTES

A portrait of the late Judge Albert M. Clark was presented to the Missouri Supreme Court in a memorial service on February 21. Chief Justice Laurance M. Hyde presided at the service and accepted the portrait which was presented by former Judge James M. Douglas. Other speakers who described Clark's early years, his service in the State Senate, and in the State Constitutional Convention of 1923 were Phil M. Donnelly, former governor, and George W. Crowley, assistant attorney-general.

The East St. Louis Veterans Memorial bridge, connecting East St. Louis with St. Louis, was opened to the public at ceremonies January 13 in which John T. Connors, mayor of East St. Louis and Joseph M. Darst, mayor of St. Louis, participated. These ceremonies marked the culmination of a project which had its inception in East St. Louis twenty-two years ago. The \$11,000,000 bridge, 1900 feet long, is the sixth longest cantilever bridge in the world. Pictures of the bridge and several articles on it were features of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and the *East St. Louis Journal* of January 14. The *St. Louis Star-Times* of January 13 also carried an article on the dedication.

On January 1, St. Louis County began operation under a home-rule charter that county residents had adopted at a special election in March, 1950. St. Louis County is the first county in Missouri to achieve home rule under the new state constitution.

Four living descendants of Francois Chouteau joined with the Native Sons of Kansas City on February 9 to urge the Kansas City City Council to name the Milwaukee Railroad bridge, purchased by the city in 1950, the Francois Chouteau bridge in honor of the founder of Kansas City. The Chouteau descendants present were: Mrs. Carrie M. Fife, of Kansas City, Kan., a great-granddaughter; Mrs. Walter A. Volrath and Mrs. Hugo Bracklein, both of Kansas City, grandnieces; and Mrs. Aimee Byers, of Bethel, a great-great-granddaughter.

A fifteen-page pamphlet entitled *Battle of Wilson's Creek*, reprinted from articles by Lucile Morris Upton in the *Springfield News and Leader*, presents a picture of Springfield before the Civil War, events leading up to the Battle of Wilson's Creek on August 10, 1861, and an excellent history of the battle itself and the exodus of the Union troops after their defeat. Material for the pamphlet was gathered from records of participants and contemporary news stories. The pamphlet is printed and distributed by the Wilson's Creek Battlefield Foundation, Inc., of Springfield.

Four proclamations of former governors of Missouri have come into the possession of the Society through the kindness of the Division of State Archives of the State Museum at Denver, Colorado. One proclamation, issued September 14, 1892, and signed by Governor David R. Francis, designated October 21 [12] as Columbus Day. The other three are proclamations of Governor Lon V. Stephens: the first set November 25, 1897, as Thanksgiving Day; the second, issued July 12, 1898, asked the help of the people of the state for the people of Steelville following a flood there; and the third, issued October 13, 1898, designated October 19, 1898, as "Lafayette Day."

William Southern, Jr., who for more than fifty years was editor and publisher of the *Independence Examiner*, retired January 31 of this year, when he and his partner Frank W. Rucker sold their paper to a new corporation, the Examiner Publishing Company. The new editor is Ben F. Weir, who, for the past eight years was publisher of the *Nevada Daily Mail*. Mr. Southern started the *Jackson Examiner* in 1898 as a weekly paper, changing it to the daily *Independence Examiner* in 1905, the same year he was elected president of the Missouri Press Association. From 1910 to 1914 he served as president of the State Historical Society of Missouri and he is its oldest living former president. He was also elected a trustee of the Society in 1906 and he continued in that capacity until 1942 when he became a life trustee.

R. L. Barger of Ironton has given the Society a photostat of a true copy of an original contract, dated 1847, between some of the inhabitants of Wayne County and Thomas Taylor, the teacher of a subscription school in that county. Roy Sutherlin, Boy Scout executive at Ironton and a great-grandson of the first signer of the contract, gave the photostat to Mr. Barger. He also gave the information that Samuel Baker, the last signer, was the grandfather of former Governor Sam A. Baker.

The Missouri Historical Society met November 24 in the Jefferson Memorial, St. Louis, to hear Ralph F. D'Oench give an illustrated talk on "St. Louis Houses, 1850-1950." The society also met on January 26 when Andy G. Mungenast spoke on "The History of the Junior Chamber of Commerce Movement." This movement had its beginning in St. Louis in October, 1915.

The University of Kansas City held its "First Annual History Conference" at the university January 31 through February 2. The general subject of the conference was "Influence of the West on American Ideas and Institutions." Meetings were held at 9:00 A.M., and 2:00 and 7:00 P.M. each day.

The forty-sixth annual "Kingdom of Callaway" dinner was held in Fulton, January 23, with an attendance of over 700 persons assembled at the high school to hear Harold M. Sherman, author from Mountain View, Ark., speak on "Harness the Human Spirit to Save the World." The 1951 guest of honor, who is always a native son, was Dr. John B. Grow, outstanding surgeon of Denver, Colo. Another honor bestowed this year was the McCubbin award for 1950 which was given to the Callaway County men and women in the armed forces.

The annual Mark Twain luncheon was held November 30, 1950, in the Mark Twain hotel, St. Louis, by the International Mark Twain Society and the *Mark Twain Quarterly*. Leonard Hall of "Possum Trot Farm," spoke on "Mark Twain, Ace Reporter."

The eighth grade graduation exercises at John Scullin school on January 24, 1951, under the direction of Miss Stella Michel, were on the subject of "St. Louis' Early Iron Horses." A number of readings were given on such subjects as "The Pacific and North Missouri Railroad," "The Story behind 'Casey Jones,'" and "The Barretts Tunnels."

A pageant entitled "Our Missouri," depicting the state's history from the time of the earliest settlements, was given at Ridgeway School, Columbia, February 1. The 105 performers from the fifth and sixth grades were under the direction of Mrs. Frances King, Mrs. Emma Renfro, and Mrs. Ocal Condra.

A series of articles entitled "Big River Mills" by Mrs. Lon Pettus began in the *Bonne Terre Bulletin* of January 25. They tell the history of the first town in St. Francois County.

Recent historical articles by Henry C. Thompson of Bonne Terre appearing in the newspapers are: "Those French Names Hereabouts," and "A Newspaper Anniversary" in the *Bonne Terre Star-News-Register* of October 26 and January 4 respectively; "Fifty-Two Years of Service" in the *Star-News-*

Register of November 3 and the *Flat River Lead Belt News* of November 4; "The Second Half of the First Half of the Century in Bonne Terre" in the *Bonne Terre Bulletin* of January 4; "Two Missouri Governors Lived in Jefferson County" in the *De Soto Jefferson County Republic* of November 23; and a series of articles on "Lead Mining in Jefferson County" in the *Republic* starting January 11.

With its issue of September 21, *The Clarksville Sentinel* suspended publication after eighty-four years and its subscription list was absorbed by the Press Journal Publishing Company into that of the *Louisiana Press-Journal*. A good article on newspaper history in Clarksville by Miss Leota Barron, the editor, was published in the *Sentinel* of September 21.

The Columbia Missourian issued a twelve-page special section of its January 17 edition, honoring the 100th anniversary of Christian College which was celebrated January 18. The edition contained a number of fine articles on the history of the college, its present-day practices, and its faculty, as well as some excellent pictures.

Floyd C. Shoemaker is the subject of a feature article by William M. Runyon in the *Columbia Missourian* of January 24. Runyon was impressed with the fact that Missouri history and the State Historical Society of Missouri were Mr. Shoemaker's avocation as well as his vocation.

An article by Samuel M. Schapiro in the *Festus Daily News-Democrat* of December 12 gives a short history of former Governor Thomas C. Fletcher, who was born in Herculaneum in 1827. A description of his log cabin in Hillsboro and some data on the Jefferson County members of his family are included.

Nicholas Hocker Gentry is the subject of an article by Theo. W. Morse in the *Kansas City Daily Drovers Telegram* of January 11, 1951. Morse points out Gentry's unqualified leadership as the developer of premium Berkshire hogs on his Wood Dale estate near Sedalia.

An article by Chester A. Bradley in the *Kansas City Star* of November 21 gives a short sketch of Missouri's thirty-five senators from Thomas Hart Benton and David Barton to Thomas C. Hennings.

The story of how William Bernard of Westport built up a lucrative trade with Mexican silver dollars over the Santa Fe Trail is told in an article by Eleanor Richey Johnston in the *Kansas City Star* of November 25.

The life story of Jackson County's first white child, Joseph Adair (1828-1905), is told in an article by Henry Van Brunt in the *Kansas City Star* of December 6.

In an article in the *Kansas City Star* of December 31 titled "Looking Back to Fifty Years Ago When Kansas City Began the New Century," Henry Van Brunt points out the differences in the city of 1900 with its one ten-story skyscraper and that of 1950 with its many tall buildings.

Universal military training is not a new thing by any means, according to an article by William B. Thompson in the *Kansas City Times* of January 25. The militia was an important thing in colonial days and it did not entirely disappear until it was reorganized as a part of the national guard.

With the death in 1947 of Miss Catherine McBeth of Clinton, there passed away the last granddaughter and heir of Col. William H. McLane, who settled in Clinton in 1866, bought 1,000 acres of land, and reared four daughters and one son. An article by Dwight Pennington in the *Kansas City Star* of January 28 tells of "Miss Kitty's" life in Clinton and the \$200,000 bequest in her will to build a chapel in the Clinton cemetery.

Robert S. Withers, in an article in *The Liberty Tribune* of November 30, gives a history of Ruth Ewing school near Liberty which was named for the daughter of a Revolutionary War soldier, Andrew Robertson, who is buried in Clay County.

L. M. White, editor of the *Mexico Evening Ledger*, announced in the *Ledger* of January 18 the inauguration of a series of art exhibits to be held in the Mexico Public Library starting January 25. Called the "Picture of the Week" project, the first pictures to be exhibited were original, signed lithographs by Thomas Hart Benton. Accompanying the announcement of this exhibit were a letter from Benton himself on the need for art in small communities and a reproduction of a number of sections of the Benton murals in the capitol at Jefferson City.

An article in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of January 28 describes the early days of Humphreys College, Sullivan County, which was founded in 1884, flourished under the presidency of Prof. G. A. Smith, and then closed its doors in the 90's after Prof. Smith's resignation and a disastrous fire. Now all that remains of the college in Humphreys is the president's home.

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* has reprinted, in a roto-gravure collected edition, a series of articles on the subject "Progress or Decay? St. Louis Must Chose" which appeared on thirteen successive Sundays, March 5 through May 28, 1950. The articles, with the pictures and sketches accompanying them, attempt to define the needs of St. Louis and indicate how they may be met.

Otto Ernest Rayburn is the author of an interesting article in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of January 22, on the subject of H. R. Schoolcraft and his travels in the Ozarks in 1818. Schoolcraft wrote two books about the trip which have been invaluable to research students: *A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri* and *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Regions of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas*.

The Christmas, 1950, issue of *Printed Words*, a quarterly publication of the Von Hoffman Press, Inc., of St. Louis, is

devoted to Eugene Field. Copies of some of his best known poems are included along with views of several of his homes. A limited supply of this attractive issue is available for interested persons.

Some old letters describing the New Madrid earthquakes of 1811 and 1812 have been discovered by Dr. Alfred M. Franko, city historian of Mt. Vernon, N. Y., in a book published a few months after the quake and now preserved in the Rare Book Dept. of the Library of Congress. The author, Robert Smith, Jr., collected "eye-witness" accounts, some of which had been sent in to newspaper editors and others of which were in original letters. The *Lake County Banner* of Tiptonville, Tenn., is publishing some of the letters in installments beginning January 12, 1951. The editor of the *Banner*, Richard Jones, is a former Missourian, having been associated with the *Sheldon Enterprise* and the *Nevada Herald* before World War II.

Erratum: In the April issue of the *Review*, p. 179, Mrs. J. H. Parsons' name was given as Mrs. J. H. Carson.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Missouri: Its Resources, People, and Institutions. Edited by Noel P. Gist, Thomas C. Morelock, Clarence M. Tucker, and W. Francis English. (Columbia: Curators of the University of Missouri, 1950. 605 pp.) This solid volume presents in twenty-eight chapters that many brief studies on Missouri. It is the cooperative work of thirty-nine persons and gives a departmental description and explanation rather than a statistical exposition of Missouri's natural and human resources, limitations, and needs. Such a reliable and scholarly work is valuable for study and reference.

The most similar book published in the past is *The State of Missouri*, edited by Walter Williams for the Missouri Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904. Both books utilize the contributions of the specialist, largely members

of the faculty of the University of Missouri, but the older work also has a number of out-state authors. The Walter Williams work has 608 pages compared with 605 in the 1950 compilation, twenty-two chapters against twenty-eight, thirty named contributors and fifteen named persons who specially assisted against some forty in the recent volume. Seventeen chapters with a total of 300 pages in the older book are on subjects treated in some degree in the present one in eighteen chapters with 400 pages. The old headings on climate, geology (including soil and water resources), agriculture, manufacturing, commerce, transportation, mining, education, church, art, the press, fauna, plant life, cities, and population take up one-half of the old work and two-thirds of the present one. And while there is a wide difference in treatment of many subjects it is only here and there that a break occurs. But the contrasts in the two books are as revealing as the evolutionary similarities and it is due to this fact as well that the student of the history of Missouri is led to compare these two 20th century expositions of the state.

The 1904 book bristles with facts and figures, almost millions of them. Half of the work, 300 pages, is devoted to subjects hardly touched upon in the present volume or not even mentioned, e.g., the history of Missouri, the chronology of Missouri, a description, filled with facts and figures, of every county in Missouri, and Missouri at the World's Fair (42 pages). And the first eight pages of *The State of Missouri* by Walter Williams himself is almost a state bible in beauty of language and pride in a people.

The 1950 work in turn contains ten chapters on subjects hardly touched upon in the older book or not even mentioned. These deal with Missouri archaeology, banking, public utilities, radio broadcasting (one page more than given to the press), law enforcement agencies, the courts and administrative tribunals, health, social services, penal and correctional institutions, and libraries. These ten chapters on new subjects or new treatment of old subjects take up 173 pages, no inconsiderable portion of the 600-page book.

Even more impressive is the contrast in treatment of a number of subjects common in some degree to both works. In the 1904 volume only eight pages are devoted to geology and physiography by Missouri's world famous geologist and soil expert; in the 1950 work twelve pages are given over to geology, twenty-nine pages to soil, and twenty-one pages to water resources. Again, in the 1904 volume twenty-four pages are devoted to agriculture, thirty to livestock, twelve to horticulture, eight to dairying, and one to poultry; in the 1950 work a total of thirty-two pages are given over to agriculture. Transportation receives six pages in 1904, twenty-one pages in 1950. The church, the arts, and the press receive ten pages in 1904, forty-six pages in 1950. Fauna receives eight pages in 1904, wild life thirty-eight pages in 1950. Cities and towns receive seventy-four pages in 1904, twenty-nine pages in 1950.

Change in emphasis and change in policy account for some of the differences, but more important is the change that has taken place in an American state in half a century. Conservation and protection of natural and human resources, limitations and restrictions on the use and abuse of both, needs now pressing for solution that were hardly imagined fifty years ago, possibilities for advancement through use of science both physical and social, and many other facets of the semi-centennial of evolutionary growth and decay confront the historian who cares to go farther in making a critical comparison of these two outstanding works by some of Missouri's eminent specialists.

The Basye Family in the United States. Compiled by Otto Basye. (Kansas City, Mo.: Privately printed, [1950]. 987 pp.) This genealogy book is not the ordinary type of dry factual material usually found in such volumes. Instead it is history, sociology, and economics combined in a very readable form with the detailed story of three centuries and eleven generations of Basyes. A section on the evolution of surnames and another on the "Colonial Environment of the Basyes in America" are particularly fine. The entire book bears evidence of the immense amount of careful research which has gone into

its compilation by Otto Basye in completing the work initiated by his father Isaac who in 1880 began the "difficult task of rounding up the American Basye," beginning with Edmond Basye, of French-Norman stock, who landed in Maryland in the last half of the seventeenth century. Eight separate indexes, which make this vast amount of information readily available, contain only one discernable mistake—the incorrect indexing of the author's own name.

Ruxton of the Rockies. Collected by Clyde and Mae Reed Porter and edited by LeRoy R. Hafen (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. 325 pp.) This combined autobiography and travel story is a delightful addition to our knowledge of George Frederick Ruxton, young English adventurer, explorer, and writer. The last ten chapters of the book were published during Ruxton's lifetime as *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* and *Life in the Far West* but the first six chapters, including the picture of Ruxton, are entirely new biographical material unearthed through the efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Clyde Porter of Kansas City, who also contributed many of the illustrations, reproductions of water colors by Alfred Jacob Miller, early artist of the West. The book is excellently edited by LeRoy R. Hafen, director of the State Historical Society of Colorado, and has a good index.

The Man of Independence. By Jonathan Daniels. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1950. 384 pp.) The author, a southern editor who accompanied Truman on his 1948 campaign, has written one of the most comprehensive and sympathetic books on Harry S. Truman yet published. Still he insists that the book is not primarily a biography. Rather, he says: "The American direction through our times can be more clearly seen in the details of the case history of Harry Truman than in the story of any other American." So his contention is that he is in reality writing about the growth of the American system or interpreting the American "everyday man." The book is mostly concerned with the political aspects of Truman's elevation to the Presidency and with the influences exerted by individuals upon him.

Westport: Gateway to the Early West. By Louis O. Honig. *It Happened In America Series* (n.p.: 1950. 149 pp.) Westport, the connecting link between East and West, and the place from which many of the trails to the West began, is described in this beautifully bound "Subscribers' Edition." The early history of the area, the establishment of John C. McCoy's Trading Post there in 1853, the heyday of the little town of Westport from 1848 to 1858, and the incorporation of the Town of Kansas in 1850 are blended with the family histories of the period to make up a very useful and interesting little volume. Indexed.

Transactions of the Missouri Lodge of Research, Volume No. 7, 1949. Compiled by Ray V. Denslow, Dr. Willis J. Bray, and Ovid Bell. (Privately printed, 1949. 330 pp.) This volume is largely devoted to the history of Freemasonry in Grundy County, Missouri, and Trenton Lodge No. 111, A.F. & A.M. It shows the progress of the Trenton Lodge since its organization in 1849, through periods of war, peace, prosperity, and depression, and describes the manner in which it has taken part in the life of the community. A complete membership list and biographies and photographs of Past Masters add value and interest, as do the briefer histories of Trenton's neighboring Masonic lodges. Indexed.

Adventures of a Tramp Printer: 1880-1890. By John Edward Hicks. (Kansas City, Mo.: Midamerica Press, 1950. 285 pp.) The tramp printers who worked for American newspapers in the days before the typesetting machine have almost vanished. Here the story of their vagabond life is told in the first person by the character of a tourist printer who manages to get involved in most of the memorable events and colorful locales of the decade from 1880 to 1890 and meets many of the famous tramp printers of that time. Author Hicks, a Kansas Citian, sets several of his scenes against an authentic background of Missouri newspaper plants. The book combines an unusual kind of social history with high adventure and uninhibited humor.

Eugene Russell Hendrix: Servant of the Kingdom. By Bishop Ivan Lee Holt. (Nashville, Tenn.: Parthenon Press, 1950. 221 pp.) This biography of Eugene Russell Hendrix relates the experiences of a Missourian who became one of Methodism's ablest leaders. It outlines the career of Bishop Hendrix from his birth in Fayette in 1847, tells of the successes and failures of the young minister at Macon, of his presidency of Central College at Fayette, and his forty years of work in Kansas City. Bishop Hendrix was instrumental in unifying American Methodism.

Fifty Years with the Golden Rule. By J. C. Penney. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. 245 pp.) J. C. Penney, the Missouri farm boy who became owner of a nationwide chain of retail stores, tells in this autobiography how he has attempted to operate a great business on the principle of the Golden Rule. Born near Hamilton, Missouri, in 1875, J. C. Penney grew up in an impoverished but religious home and obtained his first clerking job with the J. M. Hale & Brother store in Hamilton. He relates the experiences of his business career and the principles of character by which he has been guided, in an inspiring story of one man's fight for both financial and spiritual success.

They All Played Ragtime. By Rudi Blesh and Harriet Janis. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950. 338 pp.) It was in Sedalia in 1898 that Scott Joplin wrote his *Maple Leaf Rag* as the whole country was becoming conscious of the emergence of Negro music and its gay, exciting syncopation. The riverboat "roustabouts" name for this rhythm, "ragtime," had caught hold the year before and by 1906, with the help of such talented Negro composers as Scott Joplin, James Scott of Neosho, Percy Wenrich of Joplin, Scott Hayden of Sedalia, and Arthur Marshall of Saline County, as well as John Stark, the white publisher of Sedalia and St. Louis, St. Louis had become the ragtime capital of the world. This well-written history of ragtime's rise to popularity on the heels of the cakewalk, the force of its impact on the South and East, and its

eventual decline as it gave way to jazz about 1917 is well documented, illustrated, and indexed. The State Historical Society of Missouri owns some sheet music by Joplin, including his opera *Treemonisha*, which was a gift to the Society by Mrs. Joplin.

Autobiography of the Christian Church, East Prairie, Missouri. By John Fletcher (n.p.: 1949. 36 pp.) The Christian Church at East Prairie was first organized in 1883 and the first church building was erected in 1889. Today the congregation is meeting in a fine new brick church which was finished in 1947. The author, for many years secretary of the church board, has given a concise and interesting history of the intervening years, and has included a helpful index in his booklet.

"Uncle Dick" Wootton the Pioneer Frontiersman of the Rocky Mountain Region . . . By Howard Louis Conard, with an Introduction by Maj. Joseph Kirkland. (Columbus, Ohio: Long's College Book Co., 1950. 472 pp.) This volume is one of an edition of 500 copies reprinted from the original edition of 1890. Most of the forty illustrations are excellent and the narrative, in "Uncle Dick's" own words, gives a graphic picture of the West from 1836, when he left Independence on the Santa Fe Trail, to 1878 with the coming of the railroads. A typical "mountain man," trapper, hunter, and fighter, his stories of the Indians, the wild animals, and other "mountain men" of the West and Southwest add color to the history of the period.

The Singing Fiddles. By Anne Tedlock Brooks. (New York: Arcadia House, 1950. 240 pp.) The music of the pioneers' fiddles helped lighten the overland journey from Independence, Missouri, to Oregon for delicately-bred Arabel Conrad, bound for the Jason Lee Mission there. The story of that mission and its founder, and a little of the ill-fated Whitman venture is included in this romance of the 1830's and 40's.

OBITUARIES

ROSCOE ANDERSON: Born in LaBelle, Mo., June 8, 1884; died in St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 19, 1951. A graduate of the University of Missouri Law School, he had been a member of the board of curators of that institution since 1943 and president of the board since June, 1950. A practising attorney in St. Louis since 1906, he had been president of the Bar Association of St. Louis and the Missouri Bar Association. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

W. HARRY BARRON: Born in Mine LaMotte, Mo., 1875; died near Fredericktown, Mo., Jan. 3, 1951. Awarded the Missouri State Medical Association plaque as "Outstanding Country Practitioner of the State" in March, 1949, Dr. Barron had been a practising physician in Missouri for the forty-six years since his graduation from the State Normal at Cape Girardeau and Barnes Medical College, St. Louis, in 1904. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

HORACE E. DAKIN: Born in Hannibal, Mo., Oct. 9, 1872; died in Hannibal, Mo., Jan. 3, 1951. Active in church and Masonic affairs in Hannibal, he was also interested in the Mark Twain Home and Museum and served as a member of the Mark Twain Home board from 1936 until the time of his death. During the year of the Mark Twain centennial, in 1935, he was in charge of the museum.

GEORGE J. DONNELLY: Born in Maplewood, Mo., Apr. 23, 1889; died in Kansas City, Kan., Dec. 13, 1950. Ordained a Catholic priest in 1920, he became chancellor of the Archdiocese of St. Louis in 1929, was consecrated a bishop at the St. Louis Cathedral in 1940, and was installed bishop of the Diocese of Kansas City in Kansas Catholic Diocese in 1947.

BENSON C. HARDESTY: Born in Harrington, Del., Nov. 15, 1877; died in Cape Girardeau, Mo., Feb. 7, 1951. A lawyer by profession, he was a graduate of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., 1901, and of Washington University School of Law in 1904.

From his proposal to the Rotary Club in 1946 that historic sites in Cape Girardeau be marked, grew the Associated Committees of Historic Cape Girardeau under which this project is being carried out. Also, through his efforts Missouri Day is observed annually at Cape Girardeau. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

CHARLES W. JOHNSON: Born in Kansas City, Kansas, 1875; died in Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 29, 1950. A composer of a number of popular songs and the operator of a music arrangement business in Kansas City, he made the first orchestra arrangement for the "Missouri Waltz" and toured the South with it in 1914 in an effort to popularize it.

DAVID E. JOSLYN: Born in Lebanon, Mo., Mar. 18, 1909; died in Springfield, Mo., Dec. 22, 1950. A graduate of the University of Missouri School of Journalism in 1931, he was assistant editor of the *Douglas County Herald* from 1936 to 1944, when he joined the Armed Forces. Later he opened a studio in Ava, which he sold in 1949 to become editor of the *Christian County Republican*. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

YEWELL LAWRENCE: Born in Dexter, Mo., Aug. 25, 1906; died near Lutesville, Mo., Jan. 2, 1951. A graduate of Southeast Missouri State College, he had been active in business, farming, political, and civic affairs in Bloomfield for a number of years. He served as county clerk of Stoddard County for twelve years and was state senator from the Twenty-fifth District at the time of his death.

ALFRED MUNYON: Born in Avilla, Mo., Sept. 9, 1869; died in Brookfield, Mo., Nov. 25, 1950. A pastor of the Christian church for fifty-five years, he was mayor of Marceline in 1923 and a representative of Linn County in the legislature, 1925-1927.

CLAUDE B. RICKETTS: Born in Charleston, Ill., Sept. 27, 1877; died in St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 12, 1951. Operator of office

and apartment buildings in St. Louis, he was prominent in public life and was elected state representative in 1928 and senator in 1942. He also served, by appointment of Governor Caulfield, as a member of the bi-partisan state board to study school and correctional institutions. He was a 33rd degree Mason and was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

WALTER ROBERTSON: Born in Miami, Mo., April 4, 1877; died in Jefferson City, Feb. 13, 1951. A stockman, farmer, and auctioneer, he was a representative in the general assembly, 1925-1931, and for the last seventeen years had been in the motor vehicle license department of the state. In 1937 he was made an honorary member of the M Club of the University of Missouri for his loyalty to the Tiger football team.

CHARLES G. ROSS: Born in Independence, Mo., Nov. 9, 1885; died in Washington, D.C., Dec. 5, 1950. The "dean" of Washington newspaper correspondents when he resigned to become President Truman's press secretary in 1945, he was a graduate of the University of Missouri in 1905, was a member of the journalism faculty there, 1908-1918, and was awarded an LL.D. degree by the university in 1936. He was associated with the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* as Washington correspondent, editor of the editorial page, and contributing editor, 1918-1945. The author of *The Writing of News*, 1911, he won a Pulitzer Prize in 1932 for an article titled "The Country's Plight—What Can Be Done About It?" He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

JOHN BERCHMANS SULLIVAN: Born in Sedalia, Mo., Oct. 10, 1897; died in Bethesda, Md., Jan. 29, 1951. A graduate of St. Louis University Law School in 1923, he engaged in private practice in St. Louis until 1936 when he became assistant city counselor. In 1938 he became secretary to Mayor B. F. Dickmann and in 1940, 1944, 1948, and 1950 he was elected a representative in Congress.

WILLIAM A. TODD: Born in 1875; died in St. Louis, Mo. Dec. 28, 1950. A graduate of Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Ky., and of William Jewell College, he was an army chaplain in World War I. He was superintendent of the Baptist Evangelical Association of St. Louis, editor and publisher of the *St. Louis Herald*, had been an evangelist in Missouri and Oklahoma for fifty-one years, and had helped establish seventeen churches in St. Louis County.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

DRAWS LIKE A MUSTARD PLASTER

From the *Lexington Weekly Intelligencer*, January 21, 1888.

The following paragraph from the [Higginsville] *Advance* makes us smile, it was so true to life, not only of Higginsville but of most towns: 'Tis our candid opinion that this town would patronize a Negro minstrel show at fifty cents when they would pass a first class concert free. A ten-cent show draws here like a mustard plaster. 'Tis about time our people were cultivating a taste for the more refined amusements.

A PRIVATE "MARSHALL PLAN"

Extracts from a letter by George C. Marquis of Independence to J. E. Blevins of Faucett, Missouri, quoting from *Crossroads of America* by Darrell Garwood, p. 38.

Old John Brown was on his way to Kansas bringing guns for his four sons: "When he reached the ferry at Brunswick, Missouri, an elderly Missourian asked him where he was from and how he was 'on the goose,' as the saying went. Brown replied that he was from New York, originally from Ohio, and that he was Free State. 'You won't live to get there,' said the Missourian, with his thoughts on recent disturbances in Kansas. Whereupon Brown, glancing at his wagon, made a remark which there was afterward reason to recall. 'We are prepared,' he said, 'not to die alone.' "

THE DEAF HEAR TALK ON SCHOOL'S FOUNDER

From the *Kansas City Times*, November 8, 1950. Excerpts from "Missouri Notes" by Chester A. Bradley.

The Missouri School for the Deaf at Fulton will celebrate its centennial next year and looking forward to that occasion, Ovid Bell of Fulton paid tribute to its founder, Dr. William Dabney Kerr, at a special assembly in the school last week. Kerr opened the school on November 5, 1851, and served as its superintendent for thirty-nine years. He was founder of the first school for the deaf west of the Mississippi, Bell said, and possibly was the first teacher of the blind west of the river...

THE PLAY'S THE THING

From the *Kansas City Times* of January 1, 1951. Excerpts from "Missouri Notes" by Chester A. Bradley.

The new and the old as seen by the *Pleasant Hill Times*:

Technicolor movies are wonderful and television is fine, but gone from us these long years are the anticipatory delights of the playhouse. The extravagant promises of the advertising, the satisfaction of buying choice seats in the advance sale, the self-conscious march down the aisle behind the usher, the buzz of sotto voice conversations, and rattling of programs. The cautious neck craning to see who brought whom, the re-examination of the handsome curtain scene, bordered with classic quotations and punctured at right for the peephole through which an anxious, blinking eye counted the house. The sawing of violins tuning up in the pit, and finally, overture and—curtain! These are tingling pleasures gone and not replaced.

WAS THE NEXT STEP SECESSION?

From the *Kansas City Times*, November 29, 1950. Excerpts from "Missouri Notes" by Chester A. Bradley.

The Holt County court recently observed the anniversary of a century of service in the same location at Oregon, and the *Holt County Sentinel* recalls several outstanding events in court records. Eugene Field, the noted poet, knew the courthouse well in 1875 when he went there as a reporter to cover a manslaughter trial . . .

The first public whipping occurred on July 11, 1846, for horse stealing. But of all the records in the long history of the county government, the one that probably shows the most pioneer "rugged individualism," says the *Sentinel*, is the incident in 1841 when the county court nullified an act of the Missouri Legislature. The court minutes contain this entry:

"Ordered, that the act concerning grocers license, passed by the Legislature in 1839, shall not extend or be in force in Holt County."

MARK TWAIN A BETTER FINANCIER THAN HE KNEW

From the *Kansas City Star*, November 30, 1943. Excerpts from an article by Charles Honce.

. . . The humorist [Mark Twain], who once went broke and into a vast debt that only was overcome through heroic endeavor, probably would have been amazed could he have known that more than three decades after his death his literary relics still would be a gold mine . . .

After Mark Twain's disastrous career as his own publisher, he signed with Harper Brothers, which has been his sole publisher since 1896. Early figures are lacking, but since Mark Twain's death in 1910,

the publishers have paid into the estate more than 1¼ million dollars in royalties. In one fiscal year, 1924-25, the figure was \$91,000 . . . And since 1896, Harpers have sold some 7 million volumes of the humorist's works.

Henry Hoyns, chairman of the Harper board and a friend of Twain's, says old Mark "probably is the highest paid American author of all time." The copyright on several of Mark Twain's books has run out, but royalties continue to be paid on them.

Of course, the Harper arrangement is only one of numerous contracts stemming from the Mark Twain company, which was organized by Clemens before his death. They take in about everything from comic strips to radio presentations . . .

EUGENE FIELD'S FINAL RESTING PLACE

From the *Kansas City Times*, December 25, 1925.

Chicago, Dec. 24. — The body of Eugene Field, the children's poet, who for thirty years, since his death, has rested amid unpretentious surroundings in Graceland cemetery, soon will have a new resting place within the solemn splendor of an Episcopal church.

Announcement was made tonight at the midnight Christmas service of the Episcopal church of the Holy Comforter, Kenilworth, that the Field family has consented to the removal of the famous poet's body to a specially built tomb at the Kenilworth church.

Only a small headstone marks the grave of the immortal writer of juvenile verse. Since 1895, he has rested in a simple plot and thousands have passed it not knowing it was the tomb of the poet they so much admired.

The Field tomb will be in the close of an elaborate cloister now being completed, connecting the church with the parish rectory. It will be known as the Eugene Field memorial cloister close. A plain slab will surmount the tomb and on it will be carved Field's name and portions of some of his best known children's poems. Opposite the tomb in the cloister will be a beautiful memorial window to Field's grandson, William C. Engler, Jr. . .

[Editor's note: A letter from Paul Angle, director of the Chicago Historical Society, informs us that Field's body was placed in this specially built tomb in February, 1926. The church is located on the southeast corner of Kenilworth Ave and Warwick Road. Mrs. Field, who died in 1936, was buried with her husband.]

SEQUEL TO "LOVERS LANE, ST. JO"

From the *Kansas City Star*, May 20, 1936.

An eleventh-hour appeal from the 80-year-old widow of Eugene Field, beloved children's poet, was made tonight to help her keep her picturesque farm home at Heafford Junction, Wis. . . .

"My mother," Eugene Field II said to [Jesse P.] Henry [of St. Louis] in a letter, "is very ill and about to lose her home by foreclosure of mortgage and sale . . .

"She has invested all her money here, about \$50,000, and her dilemma is a direct result of a miscarriage from the Home Owners Loan Corporation from which she had every reason to expect help."

Henry . . . said . . . "It was my first intimation that Mrs. Field was even living . . . I had supposed she was dead many years ago."

The Missouri-born poet died in Chicago in 1895. He had married pretty Miss Julia Sutherland Comstock of St. Joseph, Mo., after his return from Europe in 1873. After his death, his widow disappeared from public notice, forgotten in her Wisconsin home.

From the *Kansas City Star*, May 21, 1936.

. . . Informed of the 80 year old woman's plight through newspaper accounts of her attempts to obtain a loan to prevent confirmation of the sale of her 155-acre farm on Crystal Lake, the New York chapter of Phi Delta Theta [Field's college fraternity] wired her today offering to advance the money . . .

From the *Kansas City Star*, June 8, 1936.

Two weeks after her Crystal Lake estate had been saved from a mortgage sale by her poet-husband's fraternity, Mrs. Julia Field, 80, widow of Eugene Field, died late today of heart disease . . .

The greater part of Eugene Field's estate, which relatives estimated at \$200,000, was lost in Chicago real estate during the depression. The widow, however, clung to the property she purchased here [Heafford Junction, Wis.] in 1921. Her income, in recent years, had been limited to royalties from her husband's books and the younger Eugene said they had dwindled to practically nothing . . .

REMEMBRANCES OF COLONEL RICKEY

From *The Mexico Evening Ledger*, September 14, 1950.

Col. [Joseph K.] Rickey came from Callaway County, Missouri. Moving to St. Louis, he went to Washington, where his extensive acquaintance was widened and gradually he became a national character. He was the inventor of the gin rickey . . .

The Rickey home was just north of the Westminster college campus in Fulton. Mr. [Brent] Williams as a small boy delivered papers there, and one Christmas called to make his usual delivery, but with an appropriate poem as a gift to all subscribers . . . When he had been admitted to the presence of the gentleman . . . he presented the card bearing the poem.

The Colonel was impressed, and after urging his visitor, almost blue with cold, to come closer to the fire and warm . . . the Colonel asked his butler for his purse, and removing a bill, handed it to the youngster and bid him a "Merry Christmas." Much to Mr. William's surprise the bill was not for a dollar as he had thought but for \$10 . . .

The following anecdote concerning Col. Rickey is taken from *The New York Times* of May 21, 1903:

When . . . Rickey was quite a young man he had occasion to employ a lawyer to collect a bill against a businessman with whom he had a number of dealings . . . The lawyer collected the amount, \$276, and notified young Rickey to call for the money. In due time he called, and after waiting for some time was shown into the private office.

"Good morning, Joseph," said the lawyer . . . "I have your money for you."

Then ensued a general conversation for a few minutes, in which the lawyer said among other things: "Joseph, I knew your father well and for many years. And I knew your grandfather well, and for almost as many years. They were fine men."

"Yes sir," replied Rickey, "But as I am in a hurry, sir, I would like to get my money and go."

"All right, Joseph, I will charge even money. I will take \$200 for my fee, and give you the \$76," said the lawyer as he handed the money over.

"Very well, sir," said Rickey, "and I thank God you did not know my great-grandfather, too."

THE BURNING OF DANVILLE, 1864

From *The Mexico Evening Ledger*, August 24, 1950.

After the terrible massacre at Centralia, September 27th [1864], in which he was the conspicuous figure, Bill Anderson and his band made their way to Gen. Price's army, at Boonville, where they arrived about October 10th . . .

. . . Gen. Price sent him out to operate against the North Missouri Railroad . . .

Anderson desired very much to pass through Danville. It had several stores well filled and there was thought to be considerable money in the county treasury. Besides the place had a bad reputation in Confederate circles . . .

As soon as night had fallen therefore Anderson rode out from Williamsburg on the Boone's Lick road, striking straight for Danville. He had 50 men with him, the best and most desperate bushwhackers in Missouri. His trusted lieutenant, Arch Clements . . . Bill Stuart . . . Frank James . . . Tuck and Woot Hill . . . the Berry boys . . . and others equally desperate . . . All were firmly mounted, all heavily and splendidly armed. No man had fewer than four revolvers, and every horse was a thoroughbred . . .

In Danville the citizens had been uneasy and fearful for some days and nights . . . A group of citizens were standing in front of the store of Watkins & Drury . . . about nine o'clock . . . [when] suddenly a

column was seen approaching from the west . . . Almost instantly the leader of the column, Anderson himself, wheeled to one side and shouted, "Fire on them."

Then the terrible scene opened. The guerrillas, with yells and shouts, charged the citizens, firing and riding upon them and killing every living thing in view . . . Through the back streets then ran the brigades searching for other victims. The stores were broken into and robbed of whatever the robbers wanted . . .

Now began the firing of the buildings. Matches were lit and thrust into cotton batting or other inflammable goods and speedy blazes sprang up in every building about the square . . . The county records of Montgomery from 1818 . . . were, of course, lost.

Private houses were visited on the back streets and set on fire . . . Soon the whole town was one lurid glare of burning light. Vast clouds of black smoke rose in such density as to obscure the moon . . .

The roaring of the flames, the crashing of the burning buildings, the pistol shots and yells and cries of the guerrillas, the screams and shrieks of women and children, all made a most dreadful scene . . .

Every man was shot at that did not yield prompt and implicit obedience, and some were shot who did . . .

It was about 9 o'clock when the guerrillas entered Danville. They remained about two hours, and then departed to carry out Gen. Price's order in regard to destroying the North Missouri Railroad, and to "go as far east as practicable."

SOUP'S ON AT FATHER DEMPSEY'S

From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 17, 1950. Excerpts from "St. Louis Letter" by Ralph Coghlan.

To celebrate St. Patrick's day, I want to tell how Father Jimmy Johnston blew in like a March breeze the other day, accompanied by Father Bob Peet. Father Jimmy wanted to spin yarns about Monsignor Tim Dempsey, whom he succeeded as pastor of St. Patrick's Church, and Father Bob wanted me to take a look at the noon soup line at Father Dempsey's Hotel on Hogan street . . .

Was there ever a finer man than Father Tim? For nearly 38 years, until he died in 1936, he befriended the bums and down-and-outers who swarmed about him for hot soup, clothes and a roof over their heads . . .

And the same is true now. Father Jimmy and Father Bob are carrying on Father Tim's work in exactly the same spirit. They are feeding about 300 human derelicts who line up every day at Hogan street . . .

Father Tim was a giant of a man whose fists could fell an ox and whose charm and Irish wit dazzled generations of St. Louisans. The stories about him are legion. Once his brother, a police sergeant, sought

to pick up a lodger for stealing an overcoat. Father Tim was not responsive, but finally asked: "Whose overcoat was it?" "The Archbishop's," was the reply. "Well," said Father Tim, "who could better afford to lose an overcoat?"

An old man entered the hotel one night and was told all beds were taken. "Oh, well," he said bitterly, "I'm only an old hobo," and turned to go. "Don't call yourself that ugly name," said Tim, putting his hand on the man's shoulder. "You're just a wanderer." "Father," the man asked, "did you ever study Greek?" "A little," the priest answered. "Then you know without me telling you that hobo is the Greek word for wanderer," said the old man. "Yes, yes, sure enough," replied Father Tim and, turning to the clerk, "You must find a place for this good man to sleep. We mustn't turn a Greek scholar out." . . .

In addition to his charities, Father Tim was welcomed as a mediator of labor disputes. He brought about amicable adjustment of fully 50 major controversies between employers and employees . . .

THE OLD "BOSTON ROAD"

Extracts from a letter from Fred Williams of Taneyville, dated October 1, 1950.

The "Boston Road" is, or rather has been, an old wagon road extending from the old Hensley's ferry, now covered by the waters of Lake Taneycomo in the east, to the intersection with the "Wilderness Road" in the west. Its length is about 14 miles. The road is gently ascending all the way from the ferry for about 5 miles to where it strikes the top ridges, which happens to be the writer's old homestead. From there it is pretty level, following a narrow ridge to its intersection with the "Wilderness Road" near the old Ben Stults place. Before the opening of that road, the caravans of freighters wagons, after crossing the ferry, had to ford Bear Creek and Bull Creek near Walnut Shade on their way to Springfield, Mo. In wet weather the freighters often forded these streams when swollen dangerously, or else had to lay over, sometimes for several days. So these pioneers got tired of it and hired a man by the name of Lewis Boston to take his compass and survey and blaze out a road which followed the "ridge" all along, and although probably 6 miles farther, it was an all the year around weather road.

As Lewis Boston surveyed and blazed out the new highway, it was called the "Boston Road," but pioneers living close around helped build it . . .

But the original "Boston Road" has ceased to exist. Highway 65 has taken over the old road from my old home to the old "Wilderness Road" (9 miles) and leaves the old road at my old place to wind its way to Branson, Mo. The other five miles down to the lake is only a neighborhood road now and the extreme east end is covered by the waters of Lake Taneycomo. The last caravan of freighters wagons

passed my house soon after I moved on my place and Harrison, Ark. became a railroad town. But there was still quite a bit of travel on it until Branson, several years later, became a railroad town . . . The building of Highway 65 gave the "Boston Road" its death blow. For there is no more "Boston Road." . . .

"THE GREEN BONNET GIRLS"

From the *Kansas City Times* of January 18, 1951. Extracts from an article by Mary Paxton Keeley.

The centennial of Christian College, being celebrated here [in Columbia] today, has brought questions as to what the college girl was like 100 years ago . . .

For one thing, the college girl then was more serious about her education than is the college girl of today. She realized that it was up to her to prove that girls could take a college education and profit by it . . .

She was never allowed to see a suitor alone. Only when she was a senior could she receive him at all, and then not oftener than once a month.

In examinations . . . everyone in town was invited to be present and ask her questions.

But the surprising thing 100 years ago was not that the Christian college girl was surrounded by the most rigid supervision . . . but that she was there at all. Christian was a new kind of school, the first to be chartered by a state legislature west of the Mississippi for the collegiate education of women. Mt. Holyoke . . . is only thirteen years older.

Ten girls began the first term at Christian in a residence on Hitt street in January, 1851. In April, the trustees bought a partly completed brick residence set in a wooded grove on the north edge of town, now only three blocks from Broadway. Here on thirty acres, the modern college plant stands today. At the end of the first term there were seventy-six students . . .

. . . The girls arrived mostly by way of Rocheport by steamboat, and over a corduroy road by stage coach to Columbia. The cost of a year's schooling was \$150, with the additional charge of \$2 per term for fuel . . .

The college began with a faculty of four including the president . . . The two texts employed at the first were the Bible and "A Treatise on Domestic Economy" by Catherine E. Beecher . . .

The first year calisthenics was given, but there is no record of what costume the young ladies used . . .

The student of 100 years ago [had a] school day [which] would have appalled a student of 1951. Following a long day in the classroom, she returned after supper to a lecture on the Bible. The practice hall opened at 5 a.m. so that she could get her music in. Before

an early breakfast she was taken for a brisk walk; then after a stout breakfast, she went to chapel . . .

She lived in a bedroom heated by a wood fire in the fireplace and lighted by candles. Part of the furniture consisted of a washstand with crockery pitcher and bowl . . . there were sometimes eight girls to a room.

The first catalogue reveals what the students wore 100 years ago: . . . "For winter—Plain worsted maroon or green dresses. Green hoods trimmed with scarlet. White linen or jaconet aprons, either waist or long. For summer—Pink lawn or calico dresses. White sunbonnets trimmed with scarlet ribbons. Aprons like those worn in winter."

The green bonnet . . . became the symbol of the Christian College girl. Eugene Field, when a student in the University of Missouri, wrote a song called "The Green Bonnet Girls." . . .

It was not quite all work and no play for the college girl . . . nor were the young ladies confined all the time to the campus. They were marched in their green bonnets, two by two, to church, with the president at the head of the line and a matron at the end. In the same way they attended the exhibit of George Caleb Bingham's pictures in the courthouse, and the open meetings of the literary societies of the University of Missouri. They even were taken in livery carriages to the county fair . . .

The picture in Columbia is far different today . . . but the school's purpose remains the same—sound academic training for young women. . .

P. E. O. AND COTTEY COLLEGE

From the *Kansas City Star* of January 20, 1951. Excerpts from an article by E. B. Dykes Beachy.

On or near January 21, thousands of P.E.O.'s . . . gather to honor their seven founders, and to celebrate the eighty-second anniversary of the organization. . .

Growing from a membership of seven in 1869, it has become . . . an international organization of more than 2,900 chapters with a membership estimated in excess of 118,000. . . .

Iowa Wesleyan college had been founded in 1844 at Mt. Pleasant, Ia. . . . In Old Main hall on that pioneer college campus, seven college girls—Mary Allen, Alice Coffin, Franc Rhodes, Allie Bird, Suela Pearson, Ella Stewart, and Hattie Briggs — met on January 21, 1869, to form a society to perpetuate their friendship. . .

. . . In time Greek letter sororities made overtures to P.E.O. but by that time there were more city chapters than college chapters. At the 1889 supreme chapter convention it was voted that P.E.O. would . . . remain a city organization.

The first Missouri Chapter of P.E.O. was organized at Unionville, May 8, 1886, but it was not until 1907 that a supreme chapter convention

was held in Missouri. At that meeting in Brookfield, the P.E.O. educational loan fund for girls was established. Since then, 9,754 girls . . . have been helped through school with P.E.O. loans . . .

Today the fund amounts to \$840,670.48 . . .

The last twenty-four years P.E.O. has owned and maintained Cottey college, a junior college for women . . . It was a gift of Dr. Virginia A. Cottey Stockard, a P.E.O., who had founded the school in 1884 . . .

The school had opened as Vernon Seminary . . . with twenty-eight pupils. Two years later the name of the school was changed to Cottey Junior College for Women. In 1887, it was chartered by the State of Missouri . . . [Now] there are 164 girls at Cottey college from thirty states. Seven girls are enrolled from foreign lands.

The 227 Missouri chapters with a combined membership of 7,854 women will hold their state convention at Cottey college the first week in April. Mrs. P. B. Springer of St. Joseph is state president.

JOSEPH ROBIDOUX, THE FOUNDER OF ST. JOSEPH

From the *St. Joseph Museum Graphic*, Spring, 1950. Excerpts from an article by Julia E. Chipps.

Joseph Robidoux, the founder of St. Joseph, Mo., . . . was the oldest son of a family of eight children. His father was a very prominent citizen of St. Louis, lived in a handsome home where the first session of the Territory of Missouri was held . . .

In 1803 he entered the employ of the American Fur Co. (a John Jacob Astor Company) at the Bluffs, now Council Bluffs, Iowa. By 1809 he had his own stock of goods and for 13 years was a competitor of his former employer.

In 1800 he had married Eugenie Delisle of St. Louis, but in the year following she died giving birth to twins, the daughter died at that time but the son Joseph E. Robidoux lived and later was a close companion with his father.

In 1813 he married Angelique Vaudry in St. Louis, Mo., and to this marriage were born eight children: . . .

Joseph Robidoux was a strong, heavily built man, about 5 ft. 10 in. tall, with dark eyes and hair. He spoke French fluently and English with a slight accent. He knew many tribal Indian dialects. He was a very courteous, hospitable and kindly man, but could be firm if necessary. He was exceedingly honest, fair in his dealing with Indians and is said to have had no troubles or disagreements with them.

From 1822 the American Fur Co. had an agreement whereby he discontinued his fur business on the Missouri River, they allowing him a very liberal amount for this. But in 1825 he again entered their employ with stock of goods, and located his trading post at the mouth of a small stream, north of present St. Joseph, known as Roy's Branch. In 1826 he moved his post to a point where a larger branch emptied

in the Missouri, now known as Blacksnake creek. In 1833 he bought the post from his employers and built a log house, for store and living quarters, there was also a very tall stockade surrounding them. Here he and his son Joseph E. lived for quite a while, in usual western trapper life. Later his wife and family came from St. Louis and he built a new home for them . . .

On July 26, 1843, the Dedication of St. Joseph, Mo., was filed in St. Louis, Mo. . . The streets were named for members of his family . . .

Joseph Robidoux built a second home after his family moved to St. Joseph. It was located on the northeast corner of Main and Jules Sts . . .

Because of his failing eyesight Robidoux had to live a less active life, having gone partly blind when he was 56 years old . . .

Joseph Robidoux died May 27, 1868, and the city extended to him every honor possible . . . He was buried in the Calvary Cemetery on Garfield Ave. but after this cemetery was discontinued, on August 15, 1908, his body was removed to the new Catholic Cemetery, Mount Olivet on Lovers Lane . . .

THE TRAVELING SEARS AND ROEBUCK

From the *St. Joseph Gazette*, September 28, 1950. Extracts from an article by Hallie Barrow.

In a copy of *The Gazette* several days ago, I noticed this item from Maysville, Mo.: "Death of a Salesman." That title, "salesman," at first misled me when I saw that it was Fred Ellis. He was much more than a salesman. For over 30 years he called at our farm once each season to sell us home remedies, extracts, spices, and other sundries.

When he first started out with a wiry team, most of the year the dirt roads were impassable . . . When he would drive his team in about dark, we would know an interesting evening was ahead . . . He brought us news.

. . . And when we had exhausted his stock of news about people, we began on live stock and crops . . . And so on until late that night.

Next morning after a breakfast of hot biscuits, fried ham and eggs and boiled coffee, he brought in his cases. Some of the remedies most every farm kept on hand were a bottle of Syrup of Figs, a very potent cough syrup, a dime's worth of flaxseed to take foreign objects out of an eye; there was liniment which would really burn and then that wonderful panacea called Pain Relief . . . After the farm family had been cared for, there was about this much of an assortment bought for the live stock . . .

The next case smelled sweet. The only extracts he sold were lemon and vanilla. But he had a big spice business . . .

Not only did he sell home remedies, but if his customers were ill, he would take his turn sitting up at night with the patient and even stay over a day or two until the crisis was past . . .

In time, Fred came in a car . . . and no one ever begrudged the time and effort it took to get up a team and get him out of the deep mud holes we used to have. By the time most country roads were hard surfaced . . . Fred's business dwindled. Of necessity he dropped many of the old items and in their place, added a line of cosmetics and Christmas cards . . . He filled a unique need in the horse and buggy era . . . for he could in a pinch act as nurse, doctor, veterinary, orchardist, sharpen scissors, half-sole shoes, call square dances or hang wallpaper and best of all, he was a live news agency.

THE LATE BILL ANDERSON

From the *Liberty Tribune*, November 16, 1950. Excerpts from an article by E. L. Pigg.

. . . "Bloody" Bill Anderson, the most daring of all the guerilla leaders in Missouri of the Civil War period . . . was ambushed by a large force of Federal troops on October 27, 1864, in the southwest corner of Ray County, one half mile north of Orrick . . . He made a dash to run through the lines but cross-fire riddled his body and he tumbled from his horse, dead . . .

"Friends" purchased a "kite" coffin and late that evening buried Bill in the corner of the potter's field in the old cemetery in the northeast part of town [Richmond] . . .

Forty-two years after Bill was ambushed, Cole Younger came to Richmond as manager of a street carnival. It was Cole's first visit to Richmond since bushwhacker days. For twenty-five years he had been a "guest" of the state prison in Minnesota for his part in the Northfield bank hold-up in 1876. Cole soon found former friends and acquaintances, and one evening during the carnival week, J. L. Farris, jr., noted lawyer, gave a private dinner in honor of Cole, which was attended by Jos. F. Duvall, W. E. Ringo, Billy Byers, Jewell Mayes, Maurice G. Roberts, and others. During the evening, Cole learned that his old commander, Bloody Bill Anderson, had been buried without "benefit of clergy." Cole . . . expressed the hope that arrangements could be made to hold a service. J. L. Farris said that he would give the oration and Maurice Roberts said that he would secure the services of Elder J. E. Dunn, a widely known minister, for the prayer. Cole said that he would take his carnival band to furnish the music.

The next morning, the funeral procession formed on the east side of the public square. Tyd Nicholson, the local baldheaded, handlebar-mustached barber, acted as drum major. While the band played the funeral march the procession moved slowly out north Thornton avenue the four blocks to the potter's field . . .

When the procession marched across the cemetery, several noticed the well kept graves of David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdry, two of the three witnesses to the translation of the Mormon Bible by Joseph

Smith, from gold plates found in New York. Tyd led the way to a small depression in the weed patch in the corner. After mashing down the weeds, the procession formed in a hollow square. The minister stepped forward, opened the Sacred Book and began reading:

"Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth . . ."

He closed the book, bowed his head and offered a prayer for God's mercy upon the slain leader. Then J. L. Farris, jr., delivered his "eulogy," which many said equaled the oration of Robert G. Ingersol at the tomb of Napoleon.

Cole Younger was well satisfied and expressed his appreciation to all who helped give his old commander, Bill Anderson, a decent funeral service, although 42 years late . . .

WHEN "PLUNK, PLUNK" SAVED THE MUSIC

From *The Liberty Tribune*, December 28, 1950. Excerpts from an article by Robert S. Withers.

The story by Elmer Pigg which appeared in *The Liberty Tribune* . . . concerning the Centralia massacre . . . brings to my mind a story of a connection between the massacre and the founder of the *Tribune*.

R. H. Miller made regular trips to St. Louis to buy supplies for his newspaper, *The Liberty Tribune*, and was on the train coming from St. Louis which was captured by Bill Anderson . . .

Bill didn't know him personally but Bill was never particular about details . . . [and] when he lined up the men taken from the train to execute them, Mr. Miller was in the line.

These men were all searched and their baggage was torn open and kicked about over the field . . .

With Bill Anderson at that time was a Liberty boy named Plunk Murray . . . a brother of John and C. S. Murray, who founded *The Liberty Advance* . . .

As soon as Plunk saw Mr. Miller standing in the line he hastened to Anderson and without revealing the name, told his chief that the line included a friend of his and he would like to take him out. Anderson told him to get him out and "be damned quick about it!"

Plunk hastily got him out of the line. In fact he took him clear out of the immediate vicinity. As soon as he was away from the battlefield Mr. Miller asked Plunk to see if he could find his valise and the papers that he was bringing home. Plunk returned and found the valise and gathered up all the papers that were scattered around and brought them to him. He then procured a horse for Mr. Miller . . .

Mr. Miller was my mother's guardian and when he went to St. Louis he never failed to bring her some new music. On this trip when his papers were scattered around on the field and before Plunk could gather them up, a lot of them, including the sheet music were splashed with blood.

Years later my mother had her sheet music bound in a book and when I was a child showed me the splotched sheet and told me the story . . .

Plunk was badly wounded in some of the fighting around Centuria . . . He got poor attention at the time and whether this was the cause of his death or not I do not know, but he was just another Liberty boy who "didn't come home from the war."

HINTS ON HOW TO BECOME PRESIDENT

From the *Kansas City Star*. March 30, 1950. Excerpts from an article by Duke Shoop.

President Harry S. Truman is anxious to find out the details of his nomination as vice-president in 1944 which placed him in position to succeed to the presidency after the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt . . .

Members of the White House staff are employing leisure hours to check history before it grows old . . .

The history diggers, as they gather their facts, undoubtedly will concentrate on the famous "Harry Truman and Bill Douglas" letters which Hannegan, then chairman of the Democratic National committee and later postmaster general, suddenly revealed when it came time to nominate a "V. P." . . .

Anyone but Wallace, was the cry of the big city bosses whose spokesman was Bob Hannegan.

Hannegan played his cards well in putting Truman over. He startled newspapermen and delegates during the convention when he announced the President did not want Wallace and would take either Bill Douglas of the Supreme Court or Senator Harry Truman . . .

History now records that Hannegan produced a letter written on White House stationery dated July 19.

"Dear Bob," it read, "you have written me about Harry Truman and Bill Douglas. I should, of course, be very glad to run with either of them and believe that either one of them would bring real strength to the ticket. Always sincerely, Franklin D. Roosevelt." . . .

Actually, as it developed later, the letter was written on President Roosevelt's special train, parked in the Chicago railroad yards to permit a secret conference between Roosevelt and Hannegan . . .

In her book "F. D. R., My Boss," Miss [Grace] Tully tells the story of the Truman-Douglas letter, or rather of two letters. The first letter Hannegan received expressing approval of the two men listed Douglas first and Truman second. In their railroad yards conference, Hannegan persuaded Roosevelt to reverse the order of preference. Miss Tully typed the letter reversing Douglas for Truman . . .

"I had no interest in the case except that of keeping history straight," says Miss Tully. "Certainly I didn't make it up. You can be sure of that."

GENERAL ASHLEY'S GRAVE AND MEMORIAL

From *The (Marshall) Daily Democrat-News*, October 10, 1939.

Dedication of a memorial stone to General William H. Ashley, noted pioneer Missourian, was held Saturday in the Old Tavern at Arrow Rock by the State Officers Club of the Missouri Daughters of the American Revolution . . .

The grave with its surmounting stone [a 3,000-pound boulder] is in 1½ acres of ground set aside for all time as a memorial to General Ashley. The plot is about three miles north of the town of Lamine . . .

William Henry Ashley was born in Powhatan County, Virginia, in 1778. In 1808 at the age of 31 he moved to St. Louis . . . [In 1820 he became the first lieutenant-governor of Missouri.] In 1823 he fitted out his first trapping expedition to the Rocky Mountains . . . It was on this trip he discovered the South Pass and thus opened the highway to Oregon and California . . . Ashley became such an extensive fur dealer that his business amounted to \$180,000 a year, which was probably a half of the whole fur business of that city then . . .

Several years before his death General Ashley purchased from Pierre Chouteau about 30,000 arpens of land in the valley of the Lamine River in Cooper County . . . In the last years of the general's life he and his wife left their elegant St. Louis home and went to the Moss mansion on the Lamine in the hope that his health would become improved. Prior to his death March 26, 1838, from pneumonia he requested that he be buried in a beautiful Indian mound near the Moss home on a bluff overlooking the Missouri River . . .

MORE ABOUT THOMPSON BROWN AND BLACK HILLS GOLD

From a letter from Mrs. Robert Barron of Fredericktown, January 30, 1951.

. . . After reading the article in the January issue of *Missouri Historical Review* "Was It Missourians Who Discovered Black Hills Gold?" I find a mistake I think should be corrected. There were no mines at Fredericktown at that time [1832] and it was in the mines at Mine La Motte where Thompson Brown worked . . . Thompson Brown was my great-grandfather and I am enclosing a brief family history . . .

I do not know the date and place of his [Brown's] birth but he was married to Agnes Hibbits in the year 1823 or '24. Four children were born to this union—Andrew, Robert, Alfred, and Elizabeth.

Andrew died in early childhood and the wife and mother died soon after the birth of Elizabeth in 1832. Elizabeth was taken into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Paul De Guire (grandparents of Allen De Guire) Fredericktown, but later she was taken into the home of Dr. and Mrs. James Gosney where she grew to womanhood. That same year the father took the two boys, Robert and Alfred, to Lincoln County and left them with relatives near Troy, and went West in search of gold. Not

hearing from him relatives and friends supposed he had been killed by the Indians, but did not hear the tragic story until it was told to *Detroit Free Press* in 1888, just a year after the stone was found by Mr. Louis Thoen in Black Hills.

Robert and Alfred grew to manhood in Lincoln County, married and raised their families there. Andrew, son of Robert, is the only living grandchild and lives at Windfield, Mo.

Elizabeth was married to John B. R. St. Gemme Oct. 5, 1853, and they are the parents of my mother, Louise Agnes St. Gemme Banes (Mrs. John Banes, Sr.), who died March 2, 1934, at the age of 79 years.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA IN MAGAZINES

Bulletin, Missouri Historical Society, October: "Alfred S. Waugh's 'Desultory Wanderings in the Years 1845-46,'" edited by John Francis McDermott; "The Background of Professional Baseball in St. Louis," by Anthony B. Lampe; "The Tragedy of David Barton," by Charles van Ravenswaay; "Season to Taste," edited by Marjorie Snell.

Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. January: "Doniphan's Expedition: A Problem for Bibliographers," by Robert Benaway Brown.

Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, February: "Mexico" [chapter]

The Florida Historical Quarterly, October: "The Journal of Robert C. Buchanan during the Seminole War: the Battle of Lake Okeechobee," edited by Frank F. White, Jr.

The Journal of Geography, November: "The Regional Status of Little Dixie in Missouri and Little Egypt in Illinois," by Robert M. Crisler.

Life, January 8: "Mr. Zoo," [George Vierheller], by E. Havemann.

Mark Twain Quarterly, Winter: "The Pessimism of Mark Twain," by Robert Douglas; "Mark Twain, Man of the People, Amidst Pomp and Circumstance at Oxford University," by John J. Tigert; "Mark Twain's Mudhen Victory," by Kenneth J. Barsamian; "Mark Twain and Anthony Trollope, Equestrians,"; "Mark Twain in Paris," by Dr. Theodor Herzl.

Museum Graphic [St. Joseph], Winter: "The Pony Express Mystery," by Lee Starnes; "Two by Land and Two by Sea," by Bartlett Boder.

National Municipal Review, May: "St. Louis County Adopts Home Rule Charter."

Southern Folklore Quarterly. June: "Tales from South Missouri," edited by Vance Randolph.

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THE SECRETARY**

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THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

FROM 1630 TO 1800

The city of Boston, situated on a neck of land between the harbor and the bay, was first settled in 1630 by a group of Puritan settlers. The city grew rapidly, and by 1700 it was one of the largest and most important cities in the colonies. It was the center of the revolutionary movement, and it was here that the Declaration of Independence was signed. The city suffered a great fire in 1780, but it was rebuilt and continued to grow. It was the first city to have a public library, and it was the first city to have a public school. The city was the first to have a city government, and it was the first to have a city police force. The city was the first to have a city hospital, and it was the first to have a city prison. The city was the first to have a city park, and it was the first to have a city zoo. The city was the first to have a city museum, and it was the first to have a city observatory. The city was the first to have a city library, and it was the first to have a city school. The city was the first to have a city government, and it was the first to have a city police force. The city was the first to have a city hospital, and it was the first to have a city prison. The city was the first to have a city park, and it was the first to have a city zoo. The city was the first to have a city museum, and it was the first to have a city observatory.

